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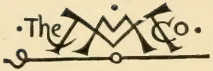
EDITED BY JAMES C. EGBERT, PH.D.

Professor of Latin, Columbia University

SELECTED ESSAYS OF SENECA



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SELECTED ESSAYS OF SENECA

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SATIRE ON THE DEIFICATION OF CLAUDIUS

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

ALLAN P. BALL, PH.D.

INSTRUCTOR IN LATIN IN THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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PREFACE

The present volume has been prepared in the belief not only that Seneca merits more attention than has usually been paid to him by American students, but also that his life and character are no less interesting than his works. This is the explanation, if any is due, for an edition of a group of his writings chosen with a view not primarily to the exemplary display of his philosophy or of his literary style, but rather to his personal connection with the history of his time. The longer essays here presented are those which have relation to the two emperors, Claudius and Nero, under whom Seneca made most of his external career.

At the same time, these pieces with a political bearing may give the reader just as typical an impression of Seneca's style and philosophic attitude as those in which he appears simply in the character of a man of letters. Even his unfortunate lapse into adulation of the Emperor — which is itself not without value as a document of the society in which he lived — does not prevent the Consolatory essay to Polybius from presenting the regular Stoic exhortations; and the essay on Clemency is a no less eloquent philosophic tract for being in a sense a state document addressed to Nero. The burlesque upon the deification of Claudius is obviously in some ways exceptional; its importance as a specimen of the Menippean satire is unique; but both historical and literary considerations relate it to the two essays between which it stands. The ten Letters included in the selection are more loosely attached to the same his-

torical thread. The *Epistulae Morales* are generally recognized as among Seneca's finest literary work; they certainly show his power of moral analysis at its best, and they help to reveal the intellectual background of his public life.

The text here given, with very few changes, which are listed at the end of the volume, is that of the current Teubner editions including the essay *Ad Polybium de Consolatione* by Hermes, the *De Clementia* by Hosius, and the *Epistulae* by Hense, and of the Weidmann edition of the *Apocolocyntosis* by Bücheler.

My thanks are due to the Columbia University Press for courteous permission to reproduce, at some points in the notes on the *Apocolocyntosis*, phraseology which had already been used in my more extended study of the same work published by the Press.

In particular I wish to express my obligations to Professor Egbert, Editor-in-chief of the present series, for his helpful counsel, and to Professor August Rupp of the College of the City of New York, who has very generously aided in reading the proof of the book, and made valuable suggestions.

A. P. BALL.

College of the City of New York.

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE LIFE OF SENECA

Among the Spanish writers[1] who produced so much of the Roman literature of the first century, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher, especially if we consider his literary work and his political career together, is easily the foremost. Taken by itself, the body of his writings is the most important of its kind in Latin literature, but it gains a peculiar interest when considered as the literary expression of a character and a career so paradoxical, in many aspects, as his. Only once, perhaps, — a century later when Marcus Aurelius was on the throne, — has a professed philosopher ever been nearer to ruling the world. From every point of view Seneca's life is noteworthy.

He was born at Corduba about 4 B.C. and was brought to Rome in the latter part of the principate of Augustus. His father, M. (or L.) Annaeus Seneca, known as Seneca Rhetor because of his works on the rhetorical exercises called *Suasoriae* and *Controversiae*, was a knight and a man of substance and culture. His mother, Helvia, was a lady of Corduba, of whose character Seneca has given us a noble estimate. His elder and younger brothers were M. Annaeus Novatus, better known as that Gallio

[1] Notably, besides Seneca, his father, his nephew Lucan, and Columella, Pomponius Mela, Martial, and Quintilian.

before whom St. Paul was accused and flogged in Achaia,[1] and L. Annaeus Mela, father of Lucan, the author of the *Pharsalia*. The future philosopher came to manhood under Tiberius amid social conditions in which literature and philosophy were by far the safest and, for a man of his temperament, the most congenial fields of serious intellectual activity. In accordance with his father's wish, however, Seneca studied law and entered upon a successful career as an advocate. He was a brilliant addition also to the social life of the capital.

But his studious temperament and introspective habit of mind prevented his being absorbed in the life of a rising young lawyer and social favorite. The more purely intellectual aims appealed strongly to him, and he had an inclination to asceticism which in a later century might have led him into a monastery. Moreover his health was not vigorous. On one early occasion when a brilliant speech had drawn upon him the jealous enmity of Caligula, his life was saved by the private suggestion of some one at the emperor's ear, that it was hardly worth while to kill an invalid like Seneca, who could not last long even if he were let alone.

Of the earlier years in which he was still free for experiment with life, he himself tells us some of his idealistic ventures. At one period in his youth he adopted the vegetarian theory of diet,[2] and adhered to its practice for more than a year, giving it up finally at his father's request, not because he had ceased to believe in it or, as he judged, to thrive upon it, but lest it should be misun-

[1] *Acts*, xviii. 12–17. The name was assumed after his adoption by Junius Gallio.

[2] *Ep.* 108.

derstood as a superstitious observance of some half disreputable cult. Seneca became an authority upon superstitions — at least to the extent of writing a book about them — and he had no disposition to be thought a prey to one. The act was characteristic in its reconciliation of a philosophic breadth of mind with the regard for appearances and other practical considerations that are essential to getting on in the world. In another letter[1] he remarks, *apropos* of his own manner of life, *tamquam in conspectu vivamus*, — let us live without any necessity for concealment, — which is an honorable sentiment, but not based upon a perfectly ideal independence of the opinions of surrounding humanity, to which indeed even more consistent Stoics than Seneca rarely attained. Later in this same letter he describes among his frugal habits his simple luncheon, consisting of such kinds of food, as he oddly relates, that he does not have to wash his hands after it; he takes but little exercise, he says, for after a slight exertion he finds himself tired; he sleeps very little, as little as possible, in fact; and presently he goes on to say, *fremitum patientissime fero*. He seems to have conscientiously cultivated the practice of mental concentration, so that he could apply his mind to his work, as he tells Lucilius, undisturbed by distracting sounds around him. In Epistle 56 we find him explaining how he managed to study composedly while staying in very noisy lodgings over a public bath at a watering place. These are the remarks of Seneca's old age, but they undoubtedly indicate an interest in mental and moral experiment that went with him through life, along with the external incidents and allurements of an active career.

[1] *Ep.* 83.

When Seneca was about forty-five years old, this career received a serious check in a peremptory banishment to the dreary island of Corsica. The cause is not exactly known. It was charged that he was implicated in an intrigue with the notorious younger Julia, but the charge came from the Empress Messalina, herself no less notorious. Whether Seneca was in any way guilty, or whether he had been merely indiscreet and his penalty was the result of one of Claudius's ill-directed efforts at old-fashioned Roman severity, we cannot say. Tacitus alludes to Seneca's memory of his exile as an *iniuria*. At any rate, though at first he faced it courageously (as we infer from his essay *ad Helviam matrem de Consolatione*), it caused him a distress which in the *Consolatio ad Polybium* and the *Epigrams* he made very evident. It lasted for about eight years, until by the influence of the new-made empress, Agrippina, he was recalled to be the tutor of her son, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom we know as the Emperor Nero. Seneca was thus reinstated in the highest social life of Rome, to his own great satisfaction and that of the people, with whom he was a favorite, and partly for the sake of whose good opinion Agrippina is said to have interfered in Seneca's favor.[1]

To Seneca's relation with his imperial pupil we owe an amplified perception of the imperial power and function

[1] Tacitus (*Annales*, XII. 8) says: But Agrippina . . . obtained a pardon from exile for Annaeus Seneca, and at the same time obtained the praetorship for him, having in view both his popularity with the public on account of his scholarly distinction and also the advantage of such a teacher for the youth of Domitius, and of their having his advice in their effort to secure the throne, since it was believed that Seneca would be faithful to Agrippina in gratitude for her kindness, and an enemy to Claudius in resentment for the injury that had been done him.

which is not without importance in the history of political ideas. When a palace revolution had removed Claudius by means of the historic poisoned mushrooms and had placed Nero on the throne, Seneca, in coöperation with Burrus, the elderly commander of the Pretorian guard, was practically the ruler of the empire during the first five years of Nero's principate, the *Quinquennium Neronis* which Trajan praised so highly, while the bad qualities of the would-be artist-emperor were kept under cover by the amiability of his own ingenuous youth and the controlling presence of his teacher. Seneca undertook to teach the lesson of imperial clemency, which he already saw was peculiarly needed.

But Agrippina's jealous ambition presently made her intolerable to the son whom she had placed on the throne. When Nero had finally secured his mother's assassination (59 A.D.) Seneca, while he is not known to have participated in the criminal design in advance, so far lent himself to it afterward, it was believed, as to write Nero's apology for it to the Senate, justifying it on the ground of state necessity. The extent of Seneca's culpability for this is something that we cannot judge. The situation was complex; even the statement that Seneca wrote Nero's defence has been denied; more probably, however, it seemed to him that there was no alternative if he was to keep any influence over his increasingly difficult pupil. The well-known fresco [1] from Herculaneum, representing a butterfly in a chariot driving a griffon, is commonly supposed to have been intended to suggest the relation of Seneca to Nero, the butterfly as the symbol of the soul standing for such control as could be exercised through

[1] In the Naples Museum.

the higher impulses upon the savage nature of the emperor.

At any rate, Seneca's influence waned. There were disagreements over Nero's treatment of his adoptive sister and wife, Octavia, and in other ways the emperor, urged on by worse advisers and by his passion for Poppaea, found Seneca and the things that Seneca upheld increasingly distasteful. Seneca retired, so far as he could, from public life. He asked permission of the emperor — who did not grant it — to surrender to him the vast fortune which had represented so boundless an imperial favor, and go into seclusion. But even this was not enough. Nero had sworn that he would perish rather than injure his old teacher, but Seneca had been too long conspicuously envied and too long the personification of restraint; and though he stayed in a doubtful security for a time, writing philosophic epistles and edifying himself with the grim consolations of the Stoic religion, he was finally implicated by his enemies in the suspicion of being the intended beneficiary of Piso's conspiracy, and the imperial order was given that he should die (65 A.D.).

There was a dignity in his death, comparable, by his own intention, it was hinted, to that of Socrates.[1] Seneca was at a villa not far from the city with his heroic young wife, Paulina. Denied the privilege of making a will in favor of the faithful attendants who had remained

[1] An antique double bust that was discovered in Rome early in the nineteenth century (now in Berlin) bears the name of Socrates under the well-known countenance of that philosopher and the name of Seneca under the other. This is entitled to consideration as a portrait. Cf. J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, I. 276. The busts of an emaciated old man that are traditionally named as portraits of Seneca in the Uffizi Gallery (Florence) and the Naples Museum are of quite a different type.

with him, he left to them, as he said, "the example of his life," the remembrance of which would bring them the highest rewards.[1] Calmly continuing, he bade a noble farewell to his wife, till she insisted upon dying with him, and he could not, in philosophic consistency, refuse his consent. "I have showed you the consolations of life," he said; "you prefer the glory of death. I will not begrudge you the distinction. Let an equal bravery be shown in the death of us both; but in your end there will be the greater honor." The veins of their arms were opened by the same stroke. But by the emperor's orders, it is reported, her life was saved, and she lived afterward for some years of pale widowhood. Seneca's own death was retarded by the slow circulation in his emaciated body. He had veins cut in his legs as well as his arms, and suffered an agony from the sight of which he had his wife removed. Even poison was ineffective, as well as a bath of hot water to which he resorted to hasten the flow of blood, but he finally died in a hot vapor bath. He was buried, by directions which he had given in the days of his greatness, with little ceremony.

The career of Seneca was one of apparent inconsistencies. In his writings, first and last, there is not a little by way of apology for the man who, in accommodating himself to the exigencies of this world, fails to make his practice square with his ideals. He took an almost humorous interest in the problem.[2] But the contradictory elements in his life and his philosophy have perhaps counted too much in the popular judgment of him. The spectacle, to take only the most obvious, of a powerful courtier and one of the most colossally rich men in a day

[1] *Tac. Ann.* XV. 62 seq. [2] Cf. *Ep.* 56, 15.

of world-wide fortunes, preaching the charms of a life of unworldliness and poverty, was calculated to excite detractors;[1] and Seneca's character has been a subject of endless dispute from his own day to ours. With the early Christian church he was in high favor, partly no doubt because of the asceticism of his life, as well as because of the noble morality of his philosophy and the supposed relations between him and St. Paul; St. Jerome even included Seneca in his list of Christian saints. Much of the contemporary detraction of him was doubtless the result of envy and misunderstanding. Tacitus, whose account is most entitled to our credence, leaves us with the impression that in a situation of the utmost difficulty, while his policy was not always beyond criticism, Seneca was essentially a good man as well as a great one, who did for the empire a service worthy of a patriot and a teacher of virtue.

II. THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY

Apart from his personal history, Seneca claims our attention as the leading exponent of Roman Stoicism. Most of his prose works are Stoic tracts; and in the exigencies of a time of religious decay and political repression and, in the highest quarters, of personal peril, the Stoic attitude toward life and death was one which appealed vitally to many of the best qualities of the Roman mind. Stoicism undoubtedly attained a social importance among the Romans far in excess of what its theoretic value may seem to have warranted.

The Stoic school, founded by Zeno of the Porch (*Stoa*) in Athens in the third century B.C., had from the first, like

[1] Cf. *Ep.* 17, 3, and note, p. 192. *See also* Dio Cassius, LXI. 10.

its natural opposite, the school of the Epicureans, dealt more with the practical questions of moral philosophy than with the speculative inquiries of the Platonists and the Peripatetics. This difference of aim, to which the difference of national temperament reacted, made the two former the predominant influences in Roman philosophy. Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, in Greece, are the less conspicuous as compared with the great names of the Academy and the Lyceum; but Rome has no great speculative philosophers to compare with her great Stoic moralists, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, and the eclectic essayist, Cicero.

The Stoics were not, of course, without a psychological theory as to the problem of knowledge, and they had their theory of the constitution of the universe. They taught that God and Nature are really one, working by fixed laws to which every part of the universe is subject. But the ethical implication of the doctrine received by far their greatest attention. Man being subject to law, his only real success consists in bringing his will into harmony with the essential laws of his being. Hence, to break illusion and all disturbing passions and the desires whose fulfilment depends upon things not under a man's own control, is the condition of his attaining the object of his existence. The man who perfectly attains this result is the ideal wise man, *Sapiens*, the constant theme of Stoic preaching.

The chief aim of the Stoics was liberty and independence of character, freedom from reliance upon adventitious circumstances of every kind. To "live according to Nature" was the slogan of the sect, which thus voiced the charge so many times since reiterated, that civilized

society with its artificial needs has corrupted character by departing from the simplicity of fundamental principles and forgetting the moderation of elementary self-control.

There seems to be an underlying pessimism in the common Stoic assumption that Fate is likely to be malignant and that man's only security is in not caring for the things which it can take away; but this is only from the point of view of ease and comfort in life; it counts for little when we reflect that the only thing that is really worth while is virtue. This being the only important object, "the gods" have done well (and not malignantly) in arranging the world as a place upon which they look down as upon a spectacle,[1] of training under severe rules for strength and nobility. Throughout Stoic literature the changes are rung upon the idea that a man should make his reliance upon his own soul: in the words of the Stoic poet Persius, *nec te quaesiveris extra*,[2] "seek not thyself outside thyself." The body, Seneca remarks in one of the Epistles,[3] needs all sorts of nourishment and apparatus in order to develop its powers. The soul needs nothing but itself. *Animus ex se crescit, se ipse alit, se exercet. Quid tibi opus est*, he asks, *ut sis bonus?* The answer is the one word, *velle*. This way of dealing with the facts of human life took on, in the minds of its noblest followers, quite the character of a religion.[4] The "philosophical director" became, in certain circles, almost as definite a functionary as the "spiritual director" in the

[1] Cf. Sen. *de Prov.* ii. 8 seq.

[2] Pers. *Sat.* i. 7.

[3] *Ep.* 80, 3, q.v.

[4] Cf. *Ep.* 90, 1: *Quis dubitare . . . potest, quin deorum immortalium munus sit quod vivimus, philosophiae quod bene vivimus.*

Christian church. Without external rites and ceremonies, however, and without any vulgar personal hope, the Stoic religion could not expect to appeal to the masses and it did not. It was evidently a religion for an ethical aristocracy only.

It is not to be overlooked that in some aspects the Stoic doctrine of living according to nature and the Epicurean principle of making the most there is to be made out of the opportunities of life, were not very far apart, when the latter received its nobler interpretations. Seneca frequently quotes Epicurus — "I go over into the opposite camp," said he, "not as a deserter but as a scout"[1] — and perhaps his personal "inconsistencies" are most fundamentally accounted for by his temperamental inclination toward the best of the Epicurean aims. From the hardness and limitation of some of his Stoic brethren he was saved by his only half-suppressed instinct for art and his intellectual curiosity, as well as by his ineradicable human feelings.[2]

III. SENECA'S WORKS

Of Seneca's philosophical works a large part are still extant; his popularity in the mediaeval church undoubtedly helped to secure the preservation of his work in numerous copies. We have in greater or less completeness the twelve moral treatises called *Dialogues* (after the allusion in Quintilian, x. i. 129, and because they are

[1] *Ep.* 2, 5.

[2] At times he makes an explicit distinction between his own views and those of his sect. Thus in *Ep.* 113, 1, he says in answer to a request, *faciam quod desideras, et quid nostris* (*i.e. Stoicis*) *videatur, exponam; sed me in alia esse sententia profiteor.* Cf. also *Ep.* 117, 1: *primum exponam quid Stoicis videatur; deinde tunc dicere sententiam audebo.*

largely composed in the argumentative second person) which he wrote at different times throughout his life and dedicated to various friends, as follows: —

I. *Ad Lucilium. Quare aliqua incommoda bonis viris accidant cum Providentia sit, sive de Providentia.*

II. *Ad Serenum. Nec iniuriam nec contumeliam accipere sapientem, sive de Constantia Sapientis.*

III–V. *Ad Novatum. De Ira.*

VI. *Ad Marciam. De Consolatione.*

VII. *Ad Gallionem. De Vita Beata.*

VIII. *Ad Serenum. De Otio.*

IX. *Ad Serenum. De Tranquillitate Animi.*

X. *Ad Paulinum. De Brevitate Vitae.*

XI. *Ad Polybium. De Consolatione.*

XII. *Ad Helviam matrem. De Consolatione.*

The two books (there were originally three) *De Clementia, ad Neronem Caesarem*, the seven books *Ad Aebutium Liberalem de Beneficiis*, and the collection of *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* (of which one hundred and twenty-four are now extant) are also moral essays, of much the same character as the others. Likewise addressed to Lucilius are the seven books of *Naturales Quaestiones*, a partial evidence of Seneca's scientific interests; but the greater part of his work in natural science has perished. In addition to these we have the satire on the apotheosis of Claudius known as the *Apocolocyntosis*, a few epigrams on Seneca's exile, and the tragedies, nine in number, literary imitations of the Greek drama and founded on the same legends, but probably not intended for stage representation. Though not all of the nine are of assured authenticity, most of them, including the *Medea*,

the *Hercules Furens*, the *Troades*, and the *Phaedra*, are generally accepted as Seneca's. With them is a tenth, the *praetexta* entitled *Octavia*, which Seneca almost certainly did not write; it is founded upon contemporary history and he himself is a character in it.[1]

A considerable part of Seneca's works is lost, portions of those which we have and others entirely, to which allusions are made either in his own extant writings or by other authors. Among the more interesting of them appear to have been the *De Situ et Sacris Aegyptiorum*, which was one of the fruits of a temporary residence in Egypt during his early life, the *De Forma Mundi*, in which, according to a reference in Boëthius, there is stated a theory of the spherical shape of the earth, and the *Dialogus de Superstitione*, to which St. Augustine alludes in his *De Civitate Dei* (VI. 10), besides several other moral essays. Seneca also wrote a biography of his father, and various published *Epistulae* now lost, to say nothing of important addresses which he prepared for Nero, and the uncounted speeches which he produced in his practice as an advocate. The alleged correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul, as well as several of the works which were credited to Seneca in the Middle Ages, are now known to be spurious.[2]

[1] In the early printed editions of Seneca, there was for a long time a failure to distinguish between the works of the Philosopher and those of his father, Seneca Rhetor. Later, some critics undertook to distinguish a third writer of the name, Seneca Tragicus; but it is now generally assented that there was no such separate person.

[2] Attacks have been made also upon the authenticity of both the *Consolatio ad Polybium* and the *Apocolocyntosis* (or *Ludus de Morte Claudii*) alternately, but though they are admittedly inconsistent with each other, and both are in different ways inconsistent with a partial aspect of Seneca's character, the objections to the manuscript tradition of Seneca's authorship are now generally discredited, and the internal evidence of their style tends thoroughly to confirm it.

Of the works included in the present volume, the *Consolatio ad Polybium* represents the part of Seneca's life when he was in exile, which, though he was nearly fifty years old, was early in his strictly literary career; the *Apocolocyntosis* and the essay on *Clemency* express two diverse aspects of his mind in the early part of the reign of Nero; the *Letters* for the most part at least were written when Seneca was old and out of favor. The *Apocolocyntosis* is closely related to Seneca's attitude toward the two emperors, Claudius and Nero. The *Consolatio ad Polybium* belongs among his reactions to the former. The *De Clementia* is an important appeal to what seemed the best side of Nero's character and typically represents Seneca's attitude toward him. The *Letters* which have been selected supplement the view of Seneca's personal relations to history, not so much by the addition of specific facts as by throwing light upon some of the complexities of his character, amid the difficulties of being both a man of the world and an experimental moralist. Epistle 73, in particular, is his exposition of the attitude of philosophy toward the imperial government.

IV. THE STYLE OF SENECA'S WRITINGS

Seneca's literary style is one of the types of Silver Age Latinity which severer classicists from the days of Quintilian onwards have united to condemn. Reactionary critics of the age that shortly followed his own regarded Seneca as modern and decadent. But however truly he may be "of the second rank as a classic" [1] in the strict sense of

[1] Mackail, *Latin Literature*, p. 171. Seneca himself says, *apropos* of a change of diction that he noticed in his own day, *olim cum latine loqueremur* (*Ep.* 39, 1).

that term, he is all the more worth attention for the student of the historical development of Latin style. Quintilian's famous characterization of his work is as follows: [1] —

"I have purposely postponed speaking of Seneca in connection with every kind of literature, on account of the idea falsely circulated about me, that I disapprove of him and even hate him. This is due to the fact that I have been striving to recall to stricter standards a kind of composition which has been damaged by every sort of fault. Moreover, he was almost the only author in the hands of our students. I was not trying to exclude him entirely, but I did object to his being preferred to better writers, whom he had never ceased to attack, since he apprehended that if they were popular, his own very different style could not be so. Besides, our young men admired him more than they emulated him, and they departed from his standard as far as he had fallen below that of the classics (*ab antiquis descenderat*). It would have been very desirable if they had equalled or even approached him. But they liked him only because of his faults, and each one applied himself to reproducing such of these as he could; so when he boasted that he was composing in the same manner, he was slandering Seneca. Certainly the latter had many great merits, — a ready and productive mind, very great scholarly devotion, and a great fund of information, though in this he was sometimes misled by those to whom he had intrusted the investigation of particular points. He dealt, too, with almost the whole range of scholarly topics; for we have from him orations, poems, letters, and dialogues. In philosophy he was not very accurate, but he was a dis-

[1] *Inst. Orat.* X. i. 125 seq.

tinguished assailant of moral faults. In his works there are many noble utterances, and many things that are worth reading for their ethical value; but his style has many objectionable features, the more pernicious for the reason that they are often attractive. You could wish that he had used his own talent but some other man's taste. For if he had scorned a few things, if for some he had not cared, if he had not been fond of all his own productions, if he had not frittered away the force of his reasoning by fragmentary aphorisms, he would be commended by the united judgment of competent critics rather than by the admiration of boys. But even as he is, he should be read by those who are already strong and sufficiently secured in their tastes by a severer style, especially for the reason that he gives occasion for the exercise of critical discrimination. For many things, as I have said, are to be commended in him; many things even are to be admired; only one must take care to choose them. This he might well have done himself. For that talent which accomplished what it wished was worthy of wishing for better things."

This rather adverse but suggestive criticism, we must remember, came from a man who consciously held a brief for the earlier Ciceronian style. A decidedly more bitter attack upon the literary respectability of Seneca is that of Aulus Gellius, in whose time (the age of the Antonines), if we may judge by his testimony, Seneca was out of the fashion. He devotes a chapter to some of Seneca's opinions upon the older writers, for whom Gellius's archaistic taste is well known.

"Annaeus Seneca," he begins,[1] "some regard as a

[1] *Noctes Atticae*, XII. ii.

worthless writer, whose books it is not in the least worth while to take up, because his diction seems common and hackneyed, his matter and sentiments either of a foolish and superficial vehemence, or, as it were, of a frivolous and self-assertive cleverness, and his learning limited and popular, having nothing either of grace or of dignity from the writings of the ancients. Others, while not denying that there is too little elegance in his words, yet maintain that he has no lack of knowledge and learning of the subjects which he treats, and a not uncommendable dignity and severity in reproving moral faults. There is no occasion for me to pass judgment upon all his qualities and all his writings; but what he thought of M. Cicero and Q. Ennius and P. Vergilius we will set down for our consideration." Then Gellius goes on to quote from Seneca's twenty-second book of *Letters to Lucilius* (now lost) some unflattering comments upon the poetry of Ennius and upon Cicero and Vergil for imitating it. Seneca, according to Gellius, is a trifler (*nugator*) who animadverts very stupidly (*insulsissime*) upon authors much greater than he. Finally, indeed, Gellius admits an occasional merit in him, but he concludes with the judgment that the good things in Seneca's work are not so helpful to the developing character of young men (*adulescentium indolem*) as the bad things are injurious.

In estimating Gellius's opinion we bear in mind that it is that of a very limited man who was notoriously fond of old-fashioned tendencies in preference to those of a more recent day. But Gellius's contemporary Fronto, another teacher of rhetoric like Quintilian, is even more severe in condemnation of Seneca's "modulated, dancing, jingling"

style.[1] All these criticisms, so far as they refer at all to the part of Seneca's work which we now have, represent for us the attitude of reaction against literary changes which were a natural symptom of changes fundamentally social.

It is not to be supposed that all the ancient criticisms of Seneca were hostile. Quintilian himself, in another place, uses the term *copia* to describe Seneca's distinctive literary characteristic, and there were many highly complimentary references to him. One other unfavorable ancient opinion, however, is more worth quoting. It is that of the half-mad emperor Caligula. Suetonius,[2] after speaking of the vigor of Caligula's own oratory, and especially his powers of denunciation, says he "so far despised the milder and more elegant sort of composition that he said that Seneca, who was then highly admired, composed mere prize-declamations (*commissiones*), 'sand without lime' (*et harenam esse sine calce*)." The remark has often been misapplied. Caligula could not have meant the philosophical works of Seneca which we have now, for they were written later; it must have referred to his speeches, and in view of its context it must mean that Seneca, in the emperor's judgment, lacked strength and force. But it is commonly taken to imply that Seneca's work lacked cohesion, and to refer to the fragmentary conciseness which makes it abound in detachable aphoristic phrases.

Few authors, indeed, furnish so large a proportion of sententious observations that may be quoted apart from their occasion, though many things in Seneca which seem quite epigrammatic in form are, nevertheless, very depend-

[1] Front. ed. Naber, p. 156. [2] *Calig.* 53.

ent upon their connection for their sense. Preoccupied as Seneca was with ethical interests, he perpetually rounded his thought up into quotable generalizations.[1] And the talent for generalization carried Seneca far in the manner of it. He undoubtedly cared very much to be effective, and we often feel in his writings the air of effort which is almost inseparable from an epigrammatic style.

It is this, perhaps quite as much as the striking difference between the austerity of his philosophy and the opulence of his life, which has produced the impression of cant and insincerity upon the minds of some of his readers. Seneca had a taste for preaching, and for preaching artistically; he was almost as much of an artist and psychologist as he was philosopher; but to attack his honesty on this account shows, chiefly, antagonism of temperament on the part of the critic.

Moreover, Seneca himself, not so queerly as it may seem, had a liking for downrightness and directness, a scorn of literary subtleties. He says to Lucilius, *nimis anxium esse te circa verba et compositionem nolo;*[2] and elsewhere, "it is a trivial game to play," — *latrunculis ludimus, in supervacuis subtilitas teritur, nec faciunt bonos ista, sed doctos;*[3] and in countless other places the burden of his speech is as he once sums it up: *doce quod necesse est.*[4] Even if there is some cant in Seneca, it does not prove his general insincerity, but simply that he was sometimes carried away by his manner of thinking. It is a fault, but not to be dismissed with condemnation unqualified.[5]

[1] Many of these, as has been often observed, in striking similarity to passages in the Christian Scriptures.

[2] *Ep.* 115, 1, q.v. [3] *Ep.* 106, 11. [4] *Ep.* 109, 18.

[5] His flattery of the emperor is another matter. The whole subject of the adulation of the head of the Roman state is a thing apart. It may

His expressed ideas on the subject of style [1] often seem as inconsistent as some aspects of his life and his philosophy. His literary principles are apparently at variance with each other and with his own usage. At one time he seems to be disparaging careful literary art as unworthy of a philosopher: *oratio sollicita philosophum non decet*,[2] he says, and even, *quis enim accurate loquitur nisi qui vult putide* (*i.e.* with disgusting affectation) *loqui?* [3] At another time he blames a lack of deliberation and orderliness, and urges that the manner should be as dignified as the matter. *Hoc non probo*, he says, speaking of impetuous unconsidered fluency in a lecturer, *in philosopho, cuius pronuntiatio quoque, sicut vita, debet esse composita*,[4] — his delivery ought to be as carefully ordered as his life. In another place, quoting the proverb, *talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita*, he compares the slovenly literary style of Maecenas to his negligent manner of dress and behavior: *non oratio eius aeque soluta est, quam ipse discinctus?* [5] The whole epistle in which this occurs is devoted to an interesting discussion of the influences which go to produce faults

be viewed as a necessary practical precaution or as a fault in the taste of the time; it was evidently both; at any rate it may be well studied in Seneca, in whom it is not so gross as in some writers and whose exhibitions of it are ingeniously tempered and deflected by the philosophic ideals which we might wish had prevented it altogether. Cf. *Nat. Quaest.* IV., *Praef.* 9: *eo enim iam dementiae venimus, ut qui parce adulatur, pro maligno sit.* It may be that even the details of Seneca's literary style were affected for the worse when he was trying to appeal to Nero's meretricious theatrical tastes. It was charged by Seneca's enemies that he wrote more poetry as Nero developed a fondness for it. Cf. pp. 103 and 151.

[1] See F. I. Merchant, *Seneca and his Theory of Style, Amer. Jour. of Philology*, 1905, pp. 44–59.

[2] *Ep.* 100, 4.

[3] *Ep.* 75, 1.

[4] *Ep.* 40, 2.

[5] *Ep.* 114, 4.

of style, some of them the very ones with which Seneca himself is commonly charged.

Seneca's inconsistencies, however, are rarely of the kind which cannot be resolved; and we can perhaps fairly summarize his preferences in a way not essentially out of harmony with his practice in his own prose. He wanted the style to be natural [1] and appropriate, as an artistic Stoic should. He disliked what he thought grandiose and pretentious. Bombastic affectation he expressly ridicules in the *Apocolocyntosis*.[2] He records his dislike for long periodic sentences; [3] this obviously squares with his practice. Of his epistolary style, which was practically that of all his philosophic works, he says that he wished it to be simple and unaffected like his conversation, which was *inlaboratus et facilis; tales esse epistulas meas volo, quae nihil habent accersitum* (*i.e.* far-fetched, *recherché*) *nec fictum*.[4]

But in commending the epistolary style of Lucilius he says, *habes verba in potestate*,[5] and when in another place he observes that it is disgraceful to say one thing and mean another, — *turpe est aliud loqui aliud sentire: quanto turpius aliud scribere, aliud sentire* [6] — he is clearly thinking not so much of the question of sincerity as of a sufficient command of one's diction to be able to say effectively just what one means. While Seneca disapproved of the appearance of elaboration, he did like a neatness and precision which accentuated his points, put the effective word in the right place, and in general made the expression fit the thought. He spoke often contemptuously of

[1] Yet he confesses (*Nat. Quaest.* III. 18, 7), *Non tempero mihi, quin utar interdum temerarie verbis et proprietatis modum excedam.*

[2] II. 1. [3] *Ep.* 114. 16. [4] *Ep.* 75, 1. [5] *Ep.* 59. 4. [6] *Ep.* 24, 19.

the popular taste; nevertheless he endeavored to clothe his philosophy in language which should be attractive to a wide circle of readers. Hence the aptness of Tacitus's comment on Seneca's *ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum.*[1]

The effort to make his work interesting underlay, of course, the tendency to use in prose words and idioms that in an earlier day would have been restricted to poetic usage, a tendency which he shared with his time, to which such "rhetorical vices" are very freely imputed. It seems evident that such a tendency was a natural sign of growth in a language which even the Gelliuses and Frontos could not prevent from being a living tongue. The characteristic peculiarities of Seneca's style were especially of another sort, due to his constant effort after a concise, antithetic brilliancy. Some of them, if we apply the Spencerian test of economy of attention, are such as tend to facilitate the reader's apprehension of the thought; others retard it. The habit of antithesis is certainly one of the former, however it may be in danger of meriting Gellius's strictures.[2] It stimulates the reader's attention and helps his mental arrangement of the ideas. The effort after variety with conciseness, however, often is troublesome rather than helpful, leading as it does to the breaking up of the simple logical arrangement of the sentence and the replacing of regular correlatives with their synonyms. His occasional trick, too, of reversing the natural emphasis in phrases with pairs of correlatives like *tam . . . quam, non minus . . . quam,* etc., has a

[1] Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 3.

[2] *Sententiae aut inepto inanique impetu . . . aut . . . quasi dicaci argutia. Noct. Attic.* XII. ii. 1.

tendency to throw the reader from the track.[1] His indulgence in zeugma is another natural result of his love for conciseness. An occasional vagueness is caused, too, by peculiarities in the use of demonstrative pronouns, and particularly the omission of them when a more "classical" writer, less afraid of being too obvious, would have put them in; so also by the illegitimate allusion to something as if it had been already introduced when it has not been. Such instances as *hanc . . . multitudinem* and *hoc iugum*, in the beginning of the *De Clementia*, have a parallel in certain modern vulgar colloquial usages, and may have appeared in Seneca from a similar source. The frequent use of substantive infinitives seems also to show something of the colloquial tendency which Seneca frankly avowed in his epistles. It is found in other Silver Age writers with the same bent in this direction.

Whatever may be said of Seneca's ordinary Latin style, that of the satire on the deification of Claudius obviously departs much farther from the classical literary standards. It happens to be the only ancient Latin specimen which is extant, in any completeness, of the so-called Menippean satire,[2] a literary genre which owes its name to the Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara, and was introduced into Latin literature by the antiquary Varro. Its formal characteristic is its irregular mixture of prose and verse, with a tendency to parody; and in style it affected a racy homeliness of manner, which is well exemplified in the *Apocolocyntosis*. Written in a vein of broad burlesque, this is full of the jocularities of colloquial phraseology,

[1] Cf. *De Clementia*, I. iii. 3 and xx. 2, and notes.

[2] This character, however, is often ascribed to the *Satiricon* of Petronius; and several specimens were produced by scholars of the Renaissance.

popular proverbs, words of more or less distinctly plebeian formation and use, vulgar tautologies, and occasionally downright slang, variously grouped for cumulative effect. Even its syntax has leanings in the same direction. In turns of phrase, however, and tricks of style, it has marked resemblances to Seneca's more serious works; and though in its general character it is strikingly different from them, it is reasonably to be considered as the product of a Stoic philosopher turned Cynic (like Menippus) on a Saturnalian holiday for the amusement, none too good-natured, of himself and his friends.

V. EDITIONS AND WORKS FOR REFERENCE

The *editio princeps*[1] of Seneca was published at Naples in 1475. It contains some spurious works and some works of Seneca the Elder, as well as most of those extant by Seneca the Philosopher, including the *Consolatio ad Polybium*, the *De Clementia*, and the *Epistles*, but not the *Apocolocyntosis*, which did not appear in print until 1513. The *editio princeps* of this is entitled *Lucii Annaei Senecae in morte Claudii Caesaris Ludus nuper repertus, Romae, MDXIII.*

There is a long line of later editions, conspicuous among them being those associated with the names of the great editors, Erasmus (first edition, Basle, 1515), and Justus Lipsius (first edition, Antwerp, 1605).

Some interest attaches to the fact that John Calvin, the predestinarian theologian, in his student days, edited the *De Clementia* (Paris, 1532); Jean Jacques Rousseau published a translation of the *Apocolocyntosis* (included in his *Works*, vol. ii., Geneva, 1781).

More recent editions of Seneca's (prose) writings are by the following: —

F. E. Ruhkopf (*Works*, with critical notes and commentary, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1797–1811).

[1] In reference to the Mss. of Seneca, see pp. 105, 123, 152, 187.

M. N. Bouillet (*Works*, in the Lemaire *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, with notes and selected commentary, 5 vols., Paris, 1827–1832).

C. R. Fickert (*Works*, with critical notes, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1842–1845).

F. Haase (*Works*, text ed., 3 vols., Leipzig, Teubner, 1852 seq.).

M. C. Gertz (*De Beneficiis* and *De Clementia*, with critical notes, Berlin, 1876).

——(*Dialogi* XII., Copenhagen, 1886). .

O. Hense (*Epistulae*, Leipzig, 1898).

C. Hosius (*De Beneficiis* and *De Clementia*, Leipzig, 1900).

E. Hermes (*Dialogi XII.*, Leipzig, 1905).

These last three belong to the current Teubner text edition.

Fr. Bücheler (*Apocolocyntosis*, with commentary, included in the *Symbola Philologorum Bonnensium*, 1864, and now out of print).

——(*Apocolocyntosis, editio minor*, text; with his Petronius, Berlin, 1871; 4th ed., 1904).

A. P. Ball (*Apocolocyntosis; the Satire of Seneca on the Apotheosis of Claudius*, New York, 1902).

Fragments of Seneca's lost works are in Haase's edition, vol. iii., pp. xv. and 419 seq.

The chief classical **sources** for the life of Seneca are his own works and Tacitus's *Annales* (libr. XII.–XV. *passim*), but there are numerous references to him and his writings in other authors; among them Dio Cassius (especially LXI. 10), Suetonius (*Calig.* 53; *Nero*, 35, etc.), Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria*, X. 1, 125 seq.), Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*, XII. 2, etc.), and many more.

On Seneca's **literary style**, see especially

A. Gercke, *Seneca-Studien*, in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplement bd. 22, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 1–333 (especially pp. 134 seq.).

E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa, vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1898; vol. i., pp. 306 seq.

F. I. Merchant, *Seneca and His Theory of Style, American Journal of Philology*, xxvi. (1905), pp. 44 seq.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL WORKS

Charles Aubertin, *Étude critique sur les rapports supposés entre Sénèque et Saint Paul*, Paris, 1857.

S. Baring-Gould, *The Tragedy of the Caesars*, vol. ii., London, 1892.

Ch. Beulé, *Le sang de Germanicus*, Paris, 1869 (German translation by E. Doehler, Halle, 1874).

Gaston Boissier, *La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*, 6th ed., Paris, 1906 (especially Book I., chapter ii., on *L'apothéose impériale*).

—— *L'Opposition sous les Césars*, 3d ed., Paris, 1892.

D. Diderot, *Essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron et sur les moeurs et les ecrits de Sénèque*, London, 1782, etc.

Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904 (especially Book III., chapter i., on the *Philosophic Director*).

Dio's *Roman History*, translated, with notes, by H. B. Foster, 6 vol., Troy, N.Y., 1905–1906 (especially Books LX.–LXIII.).

F. W. Farrar, *Seekers after God* (*i.e.* Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius), London, 1874.

L. Friedländer, *Der Philosoph Seneca*, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, n. f. 49, München u. Leipzig, 1900 (pp. 193–249).

B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*, Philadelphia, 1903.

W. R. Inge, *Society in Rome under the Caesars*, New York, 1888.

J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul and Seneca*, in edition of the *Epistle to the Philippians*, London, 1879 (pp. 270–333).

Constant Martha, *Les moralistes sous l'Empire Romain, philosophes et poètes*, 5th ed., Paris, 1886.

Charles Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, New York, 1896 (especially chapters xlix.–lv.).

Adolf Stahr, *Agrippina*, Berlin, 1867.

E. Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, translated from the German by O. T. Reichel, new ed., London, 1892.

SELECTED ESSAYS OF SENECA

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD POLYBIUM

DE CONSOLATIONE

Liber

I. [20.] *** nostrae compares, firma sunt; si redigas 1
ad condicionem naturae omnia destruentis et unde edidit
eodem revocantis, caduca sunt. Quid enim immortale
manus mortales fecerunt? Septem illa miracula et si
qua his multo mirabiliora sequentium annorum exstruxit
ambitio aliquando solo aequata visentur. Ita est: nihil
perpetuum, pauca diuturna sunt; aliud alio modo fragile
est, rerum exitus variantur, ceterum quicquid coepit et
desinit. Mundo quidam minantur interitum et huc 2
universum, quod omnia divina humanaque complectitur,
si fas putas credere, dies aliquis dissipabit et in confusionem
veterem tenebrasque demerget: eat nunc aliquis et
singulas comploret animas; Carthaginis ac Numantiae
Corinthique cinerem et si quid aliud altius cecidit lamentetur,
cum etiam hoc quod non habet quo cadat sit interiturum;
eat aliquis et fata tantum aliquando nefas
ausura sibi non pepercisse conqueratur. [21.] Quis tam 3
superbae impotentisque adrogantiae est, ut in hac naturae
necessitate omnia ad eundem finem revocantis se unum
ac suos seponi velit ruinaeque etiam ipsi mundo imminenti
aliquam domum subtrahat? Maximum ergo so- 4
lacium est cogitare id sibi accidisse, quod omnes ante se

passi sunt omnesque passuri; et ideo mihi videtur rerum natura, quod gravissimum fecerat, commune fecisse, ut crudelitatem fati consolaretur aequalitas.

1 II. Illud quoque te non minimum adiuverit, si cogitaveris nihil profuturum dolorem tuum nec illi, quem desideras, nec tibi; noles enim longum esse, quod inritum est. Nam si quicquam tristitia profecturi sumus, non recuso quicquid lacrimarum fortunae meae superfuit tuae fundere; inveniam etiamnunc per hos exhaustos iam fletibus domesticis oculos quod effluat, si modo id 2 tibi futurum bono est. Quid cessas? Conqueramur, atque adeo ipse hanc litem meam faciam: 'iniquissima omnium iudicio Fortuna, adhuc videbaris eum hominem continuisse, qui munere tuo tantam venerationem receperat, ut, quod raro ulli contigit, felicitas eius effugeret invidiam: ecce eum dolorem illi, quem salvo Caesare accipere maximum poterat, impressisti, et cum bene illum undique circuisses, intellexisti hac parte 3 tantummodo patere ictibus tuis. Quid enim illi aliud faceres? Pecuniam eriperes? Numquam illi obnoxius fuit; nunc quoque, quantum potest, illam a se abigit et in tanta facilitate adquirendi nullum maiorem ex ea 4 fructum quam contemptum eius petit. Eriperes illi amicos? Sciebas tam amabilem esse, ut facile in locum amissorum posset alios substituere; unum enim hunc ex eis, quos in principali domo potentes vidi, cognovisse videor, quem omnibus amicum habere cum expediat, 5 magis tamen etiam libet. Eriperes illi bonam opinionem? Solidior est haec apud eum, quam ut a te quoque ipsa concuti possit. Eriperes bonam valetudinem? Sciebas animum eius liberalibus disciplinis, quibus non innutritus tantum sed innatus est, sic esse fundatum, ut supra omnis

corporis dolores emineret. Eriperes spiritum? Quan- 6
tulum nocuisses! Longissimum illi ingeni aevum fama promisit; id egit ipse, ut meliore sui parte duraret et compositis eloquentiae praeclaris operibus a mortalitate se vindicaret. Quam diu fuerit ullus litteris honor, quam diu steterit aut Latinae linguae potentia aut Graecae gratia, vigebit cum maximis viris, quorum se ingeniis vel contulit vel, si hoc verecundia eius recusat, adplicuit. [22.] Hoc ergo unum excogitasti, quomodo maxime illi 7
posses nocere; quo melior est enim quisque, hoc saepius ferre te consuevit sine ullo dilectu furentem et inter ipsa beneficia metuendam. Quantulum erat tibi immunem ab hac iniuria praestare eum hominem, in quem videbatur indulgentia tua ratione certa pervenisse et non ex tuo more temere incidisse!'

III. Adiciamus, si vis, ad has querellas ipsius adules- 1
centis interceptam inter prima incrementa indolem: dignus fuit ille te fratre. Tu certe eras dignissimus, qui ne ex indigno quidem quicquam doleres fratre: redditur illi testimonium aequale omnium hominum; desideratur in tuum honorem, laudatur in suum. Nihil in illo fuit, 2
quod non libenter agnosceres. Tu quidem etiam minus bono fratri fuisses bonus, sed in illo pietas tua idoneam nacta materiam multo se liberius exercuit. Nemo potentiam eius iniuria sensit, numquam ille te fratrem ulli minatus est; ad exemplum se modestiae tuae formaverat cogitabatque, quantum tu et ornamentum tuorum esses et onus: suffecit ille huic sarcinae. O dura fata et 3
nullis aequa virtutibus! Antequam felicitatem suam nosset frater tuus, exemptus est. Parum autem me indignari scio; nihil est enim difficilius quam magno dolori paria verba reperire. Etiamnunc tamen, si quid

4 proficere possumus, conqueramur: 'quid tibi voluisti, tam iniusta et tam violenta Fortuna? Tam cito te indulgentiae tuae paenituit? Quae ista crudelitas est in medios fratres impetum facere et tam cruenta rapina concordissimam turbam imminuere, tam bene stipatam optimorum adulescentium domum, in nullo fratre degene-
5 rantem, turbare et sine ulla causa delibare! Nihil ergo prodest innocentia ad omnem legem exacta, nihil antiqua frugalitas, nihil felicitatis summae potentia summa conservata abstinentia, nihil sincerus et tutus litterarum amor, nihil ab omni labe mens vacans? Luget Polybius, et in uno fratre quid de reliquis possit metuere admonitus etiam de ipsis doloris sui solaciis timet. Facinus indignum! Luget Polybius et aliquid propitio dolet Caesare! Hoc sine dubio, impotens fortuna, captasti, ut ostenderes neminem contra te ne a Caesare quidem posse defendi.'

1 IV. [23.] Diutius accusare fata possumus, mutare non possumus: stant dura et inexorabilia; nemo illa convicio, nemo fletu, nemo causa movet; nihil umquam ulli parcunt nec remittunt. Proinde parcamus lacrimis nihil proficientibus; facilius enim nos inferis dolor iste adiciet quam illos nobis reducet: qui si nos torquet, non adiuvat, primo quoque tempore deponendus est et ab inanibus solaciis atque amara quadam libidine dolendi animus recipiendus est.
2 Nam lacrimis nostris nisi ratio finem fecerit, fortuna non faciet. Omnis agedum mortalis circumspice, larga ubique flendi et adsidua materia est: alium ad cotidianum opus laboriosa egestas vocat, alium ambitio numquam quieta sollicitat, alius divitias, quas optaverat, metuit et voto laborat suo, alium solitudo torquet, alium semper vestibulum obsidens turba; hic habere se dolet liberos, hic perdidisse: lacrimae nobis deerunt ante quam causae

dolendi. Non vides, qualem nobis vitam rerum natura 3
promiserit, quae primum nascentium hominum fletum
esse voluit? Hoc principio edimur, huic omnis sequentium
annorum ordo consentit. Sic vitam agimus, ideoque mod-
erate id fieri debet a nobis, quod saepe faciendum est, et
respicientes, quantum a tergo rerum tristium immineat,
si non finire lacrimas, at certe reservare debemus. Nulli
parcendum est rei magis quam huic, cuius tam frequens
usus est.

V. Illud quoque te non minimum adiuverit, si cogita- 1
veris nulli minus gratum esse dolorem tuum quam ei,
cui praestari videtur: torqueri ille te aut non vult aut non
intellegit. Nulla itaque eius officii ratio est, quod ei, cui
praestatur, si nihil sentit, supervacuum est, si sentit, in-
gratum est. [24.] Neminem esse toto orbe terrarum, qui 2
delectetur lacrimis tuis, audacter dixerim. Quid ergo?
Quem nemo adversus te animum gerit, eum esse tu credis
fratris tui, ut cruciatu tui noceat tibi, ut te velit abducere
ab occupationibus tuis, id est a studio et a Caesare? Non
est hoc simile veri. Ille enim indulgentiam tibi tamquam
fratri praestitit, venerationem tamquam parenti, cultum
tamquam superiori; ille desiderio tibi esse vult, tormento
esse non vult. Quid itaque iuvat dolore intabescere,
quem, si quis defunctis sensus est, finiri frater tuus cupit?
De alio fratre, cuius incerta posset voluntas videri, omnia 3
haec in dubio ponerem et dicerem: 'sive te torqueri lacri-
mis numquam desinentibus frater tuus cupit, indignus hoc
affectu tuo est; sive non vult, utrique vestrum inhaeren-
tem dolorem dimitte; nec impius frater sic desiderari debet
nec pius sic velit.' In hoc vero, cuius tam explorata pietas
est, pro certo habendum est nihil esse illi posse acerbius,
quam si tibi hic casus eius acerbus est, si te ullo modo tor-

quet, si oculos tuos, indignissimos hoc malo, sine ullo flendi fine et conturbat idem et exhaurit.

4 Pietatem tamen tuam nihil aeque a lacrimis tam inutilibus abducet, quam si cogitaveris fratribus te tuis exemplo esse debere fortiter hanc fortunae iniuriam sustinendi. Quod duces magni faciunt rebus adfectis, ut hilaritatem de industria simulent et adversas res adumbrata laetitia abscondant, ne militum animi, si fractam ducis sui mentem viderint, et ipsi conlabantur, id nunc
5 tibi quoque faciendum est: indue dissimilem animo tuo vultum et, si potes, proice omnem ex toto dolorem, si minus, introrsus abde et contine, ne appareat, et da operam ut fratres tui te imitentur, qui honestum putabunt, quodcumque te facientem viderint, animumque ex vultu tuo sument. Et solacium debes esse illorum et consolator; non poteris autem horum maerori obstare, si tuo indulseris.

1 VI. [25.] Potest et illa res a luctu te prohibere nimio, si tibi ipse renuntiaveris nihil horum, quae facis, posse subduci. Magnam tibi personam hominum consensus imposuit: haec tibi tuenda est. Circumstat te omnis ista consolantium frequentia et in animum tuum inquirit ac perspicit quantum roboris ille adversus dolorem habeat et utrumne tu tantum rebus secundis uti dextere scias, an et adversas possis viriliter ferre: observantur oculi tui.
2 Liberiora sunt omnia iis, quorum adfectus tegi possunt; tibi nullum secretum liberum est. In multa luce fortuna te posuit; omnes scient, quomodo te in isto tuo gesseris vulnere, utrumne statim percussus arma summiseris an in gradu steteris. Olim te in altiorem ordinem et amor Caesaris extulit et tua studia eduxerunt. Nihil te plebeium decet, nihil humile. Quid autem tam humile ac muliebre est quam consumendum se dolori committere?

Non idem tibi in luctu pari quod tuis fratribus licet; multa 3
tibi non permittit opinio de studiis ac moribus tuis recepta,
multum a te homines exigunt, multum expectant. Si
volebas tibi omnia licere, ne convertisses in te ora omnium:
nunc tantum tibi praestandum est, quantum promisisti.
Omnes illi, qui opera ingenii tui laudant, qui describunt,
quibus, cum fortuna tua opus non sit, ingenio opus est,
custodes animi tui sunt. Nihil umquam ita potes indig-
num facere perfecti et eruditi viri professione, ut non
multos admirationis de te suae paeniteat. Non licet tibi 4
flere immodice, nec hoc tantummodo non licet; ne som-
num quidem extendere in partem diei licet aut a tumultu
rerum in otium ruris quieti confugere aut adsidua laboriosi
officii statione fatigatum corpus voluptaria peregrinatione
recreare aut spectaculorum varietate animum detinere
aut ex tuo arbitrio diem disponere. [26.] Multa tibi non
licent, quae humillimis et in angulo iacentibus licent:
magna servitus est magna fortuna. Non licet tibi quic- 5
quam arbitrio tuo facere: audienda sunt tot hominum
milia, tot disponendi libelli; tantus rerum ex orbe toto
coeuntium congestus, ut possit per ordinem suum prin-
cipis maximi animo subici, exigendus est. Non licet tibi,
inquam, flere: ut multos flentes audire possis, ut pericli-
tantium et ad misericordiam mitissimi Caesaris pervenire
cupientium *lacrimas siccare*, lacrimae tibi tuae adsiccandae
sunt.

VII. Haec tamen etiamnunc levioribus te remediis 1
adiuvabunt; cum voles omnium rerum oblivisci, Caesarem
cogita. Vide, quantam huius in te indulgentiae fidem,
quantam industriam debeas: intelleges non magis tibi
incurvari licere quam illi, si quis modo est fabulis traditus,
cuius umeris mundus innititur. Caesari quoque ipsi, cui 2

omnia licent, propter hoc ipsum multa non licent: omnium somnos illius vigilia defendit, omnium otium illius labor, omnium delicias illius industria, omnium vacationem illius occupatio. Ex quo se Caesar orbi terrarum dedicavit, sibi eripuit, et siderum modo, quae inrequieta semper cursus suos explicant, numquam illi licet subsistere nec quic-
3 quam suum facere. Ad quendam itaque modum tibi quoque eadem necessitas iniungitur: non licet tibi ad utilitates tuas, ad studia tua respicere. Caesare orbem terrarum possidente impertire te nec voluptati nec dolori
4 nec ulli alii rei potes: totum te Caesari debes. Adice nunc quod, cum semper praedices cariorem tibi spiritu tuo Caesarem esse, fas tibi non est salvo Caesare de fortuna queri: hoc incolumi salvi tibi sunt tui, nihil perdidisti, non tantum siccos oculos tuos esse sed etiam laetos oportet; in hoc tibi omnia sunt, hic pro omnibus est. Quod longe a sensibus tuis pudentissimis piissimisque abest, adversus felicitatem tuam parum gratus es, si tibi quicquam hoc salvo flere permittis.

1 VIII. Monstrabo etiamnunc non quidem firmius remedium sed familiarius. Si quando te domum receperis, tunc erit tibi metuenda tristitia: nam quam diu numen tuum intueberis, nullum illa ad te inveniet accessum, omnia in te Caesar tenebit; cum ab illo discesseris, tunc velut occasione data insidiabitur solitudini tuae dolor et
2 requiescenti animo tuo paulatim inrepet. Itaque non est quod ullum tempus vacare patiaris a studiis: tunc tibi litterae tuae tam diu ac tam fideliter amatae gratiam referant, tunc te illae antistitem et cultorem suum vindicent, tunc Homerus et Vergilius tam bene de humano genere meriti, quam tu et de illis et de omnibus meruisti, quos pluribus notos esse voluisti quam scripserant, multum te-

cum morentur: tutum id erit omne tempus, quod illis tuendum commiseris; tunc Caesaris tui opera, ut per omnia saecula domestico narrentur praeconio, quantum potes, compone: nam ipse tibi optime formandi condendique res gestas et materiam dabit et exemplum. [27.] Non 3
audeo te eo usque producere, ut fabellas quoque et Aesopeos logos, intemptatum Romanis ingeniis opus, solita tibi venustate connectas. Difficile est quidem, ut ad haec hilariora studia tam vehementer perculsus animus tam cito possit accedere: hoc tamen argumentum habeto iam conroborati eius et redditi sibi, si poterit a severioribus scriptis ad haec solutiora procedere. In illis enim quamvis aegrum 4
eum adhuc et secum reluctantem avocabit ipsa rerum, quas tractabit, austeritas; haec, quae remissa fronte commentanda sunt, non feret, nisi cum iam sibi ab omni parte constiterit. Itaque debebis eum severiore materia primum exercere, deinde hilariore temperare.

IX. Illud quoque magno tibi erit levamento, si saepe 1
te sic interrogaveris: 'utrumne meo nomine doleo an eius qui decessit? Si meo, perit indulgentiae iactatio et incipit dolor hoc uno excusatus, quod honestus est, cum ad utilitatem respicit, a pietate desciscere; nihil autem minus bono viro convenit quam in fratris luctu calculos ponere. Si 2
illius nomine doleo, necesse est alterutrum ex his duobus esse iudicem: nam si nullus defunctis sensus superest, evasit omnia frater meus vitae incommoda et in eum restitutus est locum, in quo fuerat antequam nasceretur, et expers omnis mali nihil timet, nihil cupit, nihil patitur: quis iste furor est pro eo me numquam dolere desinere, qui numquam doliturus est? Si est aliquis defunctis sensus, 3
nunc animus fratris mei velut ex diutino carcere emissus, tandem sui iuris et arbitrii, gestit et rerum naturae specta-

culo fruitur et humana omnia ex loco superiore despicit, divina vero, quorum rationem tam diu frustra quaesierat, propius intuetur. Quid itaque eius desiderio maceror, qui aut beatus aut nullus est? Beatum deflere invidia
4 est, nullum dementia.' [28.] An hoc te movet, quod videtur ingentibus et cum maxime circumfusis bonis caruisse? Cum cogitaveris multa esse, quae perdidit, cogita plura esse, quae non timet: non ira eum torquebit, non morbus adfliget, non suspicio lacesset, non edax et inimica semper alienis processibus invidia consectabitur, non metus sollicitabit, non levitas Fortunae cito munera sua transferentis inquietabit. Si bene computes, plus illi remissum quam
5 ereptum est. Non opibus fruetur, non tua simul ac sua gratia; non accipiet beneficia, non dabit: miserum putas, quod ista amisit, an beatum, quod non desiderat? Mihi crede, is beatior est, cui fortuna supervacua est, quam is, cui parata est. Omnia ista bona, quae nos speciosa sed fallaci voluptate delectant, pecunia, dignitas, potentia aliaque complura, ad quae generis humani caeca cupiditas obstupescit, cum labore possidentur, cum invidia conspiciuntur, eos denique ipsos, quos exornant, et premunt; plus minantur quam prosunt; lubrica et incerta sunt, numquam bene tenentur; nam ut nihil de tempore futuro timeatur, ipsa tamen magnae felicitatis tutela sollicita est.
6 Si velis credere altius veritatem intuentibus, omnis vita supplicium est: in hoc profundum inquietumque proiecti mare, alternis aestibus reciprocum et modo allevans nos subitis incrementis, modo maioribus damnis deferens adsidueque iactans, numquam stabili consistimus loco, pendemus et fluctuamur et alter in alterum illidimur et ali-
7 quando naufragium facimus, semper timemus; in hoc tam procelloso et ad omnes tempestates exposito mari

navigantibus nullus portus nisi mortis est. Ne itaque invideris fratri tuo: quiescit. Tandem liber, tandem tutus, tandem aeternus est. Superstitem Caesarem omnemque eius prolem, superstitem te cum communibus habet fratribus. Antequam quicquam ex suo favore Fortuna mutaret, stantem adhuc illam et munera plena manu congerentem reliquit. Fruitur nunc aperto et 8
libero caelo, ex humili atque depresso in eum emicuit locum, quisquis ille est, qui solutas vinculis animas beato recipit sinu, et nunc libere illic vagatur omniaque rerum naturae bona cum summa voluptate perspicit. Erras: non perdidit lucem frater tuus, sed sinceriorem sortitus est. Omni- 9
bus illo nobis commune est iter: quid fata deflemus? Non reliquit ille nos sed antecessit. [29.] Est, mihi crede, magna felicitas in ipsa necessitate moriendi. Nihil ne in totum quidem diem certi est: quis in tam obscura et involuta veritate divinat, utrumne fratri tuo mors inviderit an consuluerit?

X. Illud quoque, qua iustitia in omnibus rebus es, 1
necesse est te adiuvet cogitantem non iniuriam tibi factam, quod talem fratrem amisisti, sed beneficium datum, quod tam diu tibi pietate eius uti fruique licuit. Iniquus 2
est, qui muneris sui arbitrium danti non relinquit, avidus, qui non lucri loco habet, quod accepit, sed damni, quod reddidit. Ingratus est, qui iniuriam vocat finem voluptatis, stultus, qui nullum fructum esse putat bonorum nisi praesentium, qui non et in praeteritis adquiescit et ea iudicat certiora, quae abierunt, quia de illis ne desinant non est timendum. Nimis angustat gaudia sua, qui eis 3
tantummodo, quae habet ac videt, frui se putat et habuisse eadem pro nihilo ducit; cito enim nos omnis voluptas relinquit, quae fluit et transit et paene ante quam veniat

aufertur. Itaque in praeteritum tempus animus mittendus est et quicquid nos umquam delectavit reducendum ac frequenti cogitatione pertractandum est: longior fide-
4 liorque est memoria voluptatum quam praesentia. Quod habuisti ergo optimum fratrem, in summis bonis pone! Non est quod cogites, quanto diutius habere potueris, sed quam diu habueris. Rerum natura illum tibi sicut ceteris fratres suos non mancipio dedit, sed commodavit; cum visum est deinde, repetît nec tuam in eo satietatem
5 secuta est sed suam legem. Si quis pecuniam creditam solvisse se moleste ferat, eam praesertim, cuius usum gratuitum acceperit, nonne iniustus vir habeatur? Dedit natura fratri tuo vitam, dedit et tibi: quae suo iure usa si a quo voluit debitum suum citius exegit, non illa in culpa est, cuius nota erat condicio, sed mortalis animi spes avida, quae subinde, quid rerum natura sit, obliviscitur nec um-
6 quam sortis suae meminit, nisi cum admonetur. Gaude itaque habuisse te tam bonum fratrem et usum fructumque eius, quamvis brevior voto tuo fuerit, boni consule. Cogita iucundissimum esse, quod habuisti, humanum, quod perdidisti: nec enim quicquam minus inter se consentaneum est quam aliquem moveri, quod sibi talis frater parum diu contigerit, non gaudere, quod tamen contigerit.

1 XI. 'At inopinanti ereptus est.' Sua quemque credulitas decipit et in eis, quae diligit, voluntaria mortalitatis oblivio: natura nulli se necessitatis suae gratiam facturam esse testata est. Cotidie praeter oculos nostros transeunt notorum ignotorumque funera, nos tamen aliud agimus et subitum id putamus esse, quod nobis tota vita denuntiatur futurum. Non est itaque ista fatorum iniquitas, sed mentis humanae pravitas insatiabilis rerum omnium, quae indignatur inde excidere, quo admissa est

precario. [30.] Quanto ille iustior, qui nuntiata filii morte 2
dignam magno viro vocem emisit: 'Ego cum genui, tum
moriturum scivi.' Prorsus non mireris ex hoc natum esse,
qui fortiter mori posset. Non accepit tamquam novum
nuntium filii mórtem; quid enim est novi hominem mori,
cuius tota vita nihil aliud quam ad mortem iter est?
'Ego cum genui, tum moriturum scivi.' Deinde adiecit 3
rem maioris et prudentiae et animi: 'et huic rei sustuli.'
Omnes huic rei tollimur; quisquis ad vitam editur, ad
mortem destinatur. Gaudeamus *ergo* eo, quod dabitur,
reddamusque id, cum reposcemur: alium alio tempore fata
comprehendent, neminem praeteribunt. In procinctu
stet animus et id quod necesse est numquam timeat, quod
incertum est semper expectet. Quid dicam duces du- 4
cumque progeniem et multis aut consulatibus conspicuos
aut triumphis sorte defunctos inexorabili? Tota cum regi-
bus regna populique cum *re*gentibus tulere fatum suum:
omnes, immo omnia in ultimum diem spectant. Non idem
universis finis est: alium in medio cursu vita deserit,
alium in ipso aditu relinquit, alium in extrema senectute
fatigatum iam et exire cupientem vix emittit; alio qui-
dem atque alio tempore, omnes tamen in eundem locum
tendimus; utrumne stultius sit nescio mortalitatis legem
ignorare, an impudentius recusare. Agedum illa, quae 5
multo ingenii tui labore celebrata sunt, in manus sume
utriuslibet auctoris carmina, quae tu ita resolvisti, ut
quamvis structura illorum recesserit, permaneat tamen
gratia — sic enim illa ex alia lingua in aliam transtulisti,
ut, quod difficillimum erat, omnes virtutes in alienam te
orationem secutae sint —: nullus erit in illis scriptis liber,
qui non plurima varietatis humanae incertorumque casuum
et lacrimarum ex alia atque alia causa fluentium exempla

6 tibi suggerat. Lege, quanto spiritu ingentibus intonueris verbis: pudebit te subito deficere et ex tanta orationis magnitudine desciscere. Ne commiseris, ut quisquis exemplaris modo scripta tua mirabatur quaerat quomodo tam grandia tamque solida tam fragilis animus conceperit.

1 XII. Potius ab istis te, quae torquent, ad haec tot et tanta, quae consolantur, converte ac respice optimos fratres, respice uxorem, filium respice: pro omnium horum salute hac tecum portione Fortuna decidit. Multos habes, in quibus adquiescas. [31.] Ab hac te infamia vindica, ne videatur omnibus plus apud te valere unus dolor quam
2 haec tam multa solacia. Omnis istos una tecum perculsos vides nec posse tibi subvenire, immo etiam ultro expectare, ut a te subleventur, intellegis; et ideo quanto minus in illis doctrinae minusque ingenii est, tanto magis obsistere te necesse est communi malo. Est autem hoc ipsum solacii loco, inter multos dolorem suum dividere; qui quia dispensatur inter plures, exigua debet apud te parte sub-
3 sidere. Non desinam totiens tibi offerre Caesarem: illo moderante terras et ostendente quanto melius beneficiis imperium custodiatur quam armis, illo rebus humanis praesid*ente* non est periculum, ne quid perdidisse te sentias; in hoc uno tibi satis praesidi, solaci est. Attolle te et, quotiens lacrimae suboriuntur oculis tuis, totiens illos in Caesarem derige: siccabuntur maximi et clarissimi conspectu numinis; fulgor eius illos, ut nihil aliud possint
4 aspicere, praestringet et in se haerentes detinebit. Hic tibi, quem tu diebus intueris ac noctibus, a quo numquam deicis animum, cogitandus est, hic contra fortunam advocandus. Nec dubito, cum tanta illi adversus omnes suos sit mansuetudo tantaque indulgentia, quin iam multis solaciis tuum istud vulnus obduxerit, iam multa, quae

dolori obstarent tuo, congesserit. Quid porro? Ut nihil horum fecerit, nonne protinus ipse conspectus per se tantummodo cogitatusque Caesar maximo solacio tibi est? Dii illum deaeque terris diu commodent! Acta hic divi Augusti aequet, annos vincat! Quam diu inter mortales erit, nihil ex domo sua mortale esse sentiat! Rectorem Romano imperio filium longa fide adprobet et ante illum consortem patris quam successorem aspiciat! Sera et nepotibus demum nostris dies nota sit, qua illum gens sua caelo adserat!

XIII. [32.] Abstine ab hoc manus tuas, Fortuna, 1
nec in isto potentiam tuam nisi ea parte, qua prodes, ostenderis! Patere illum generi humano iam diu aegro et adfecto mederi, patere quicquid prioris principis furor concussit in suum locum restituere ac reponere! Sidus hoc, quod praecipitato in profundum et demerso in tenebras orbi refulsit, semper luceat! Hic Germaniam 2
pacet, Britanniam aperiat, et patrios triumphos ducat et novos: quorum me quoque spectatorem futurum, quae ex virtutibus eius primum optinet locum, promittit clementia. Nec enim sic me deiecit, ut nollet erigere, immo ne deiecit quidem, sed impulsum a fortuna et cadentem sustinuit et in praeceps euntem leniter divinae manus usus moderatione deposuit: deprecatus est pro me senatum et vitam mihi non tantum dedit sed etiam petît. Viderit: qualem volet esse, existimet causam 3
meam; vel iustitia eius bonam perspiciat vel clementia faciat bonam: utrumque in aequo mihi eius beneficium erit, sive innocentem me scierit esse, sive voluerit. Interim magnum miseriarum mearum solacium est videre misericordiam eius totum orbem pervagantem: quae cum ex ipso angulo, in quo ego defixus sum, complures

multorum iam annorum ruina obrutos effoderit et in lucem reduxerit, non vereor ne me unum transeat. Ipse autem optime novit tempus, quo cuique debeat succurrere; ego omnem operam dabo, ne pervenire ad me erubescat.
4 O felicem clementiam tuam, Caesar, quae efficit, ut quietiorem sub te agant vitam exsules, quam nuper sub Gaio egere principes! Non trepidant nec per singulas horas gladium exspectant nec ad omnem navium conspectum pavent; per te habent ut fortunae saevientis modum ita spem quoque melioris eiusdem ac praesentis quietem. Scias licet ea demum fulmina esse iustissima, quae etiam percussi colunt.

1 XIV. [33.] Hic itaque princeps, qui publicum omnium hominum solacium est, aut me omnia fallunt aut iam recreavit animum tuum et tam magno vulneri maiora adhibuit remedia. Iam te omni confirmavit modo, iam omnia exempla, quibus ad animi aequitatem compellereris, tenacissima memoria rettulit, iam omnium praecepta sapientum adsueta sibi facundia explicuit.
2 Nullus itaque melius has adloquendi partes occupaverit: aliud habebunt hoc dicente pondus verba velut ab oraculo missa; omnem vim doloris tui divina eius contundet auctoritas. Hunc itaque tibi puta dicere: 'non te solum fortuna desumpsit sibi, quem tam gravi afficeret iniuria; nulla domus in toto orbe terrarum aut est aut fuit sine aliqua comploratione. Transibo exempla vulgaria, quae etiam si minora, tamen innumera sunt, ad fastos te et
3 annales perducam publicos. Vides omnes has imagines, quae implevere Caesarum atrium? Nulla non harum aliquo suorum incommodo insignis est; nemo non ex istis in ornamentum saeculorum refulgentibus viris aut desiderio suorum tortus est aut a suis cum maximo animi

cruciatu desideratus est. Quid tibi referam Scipionem 4
Africanum, cui mors fratris in exsilio nuntiata est? Is
frater, qui eripuit fratrem carceri, non potuit eripere
fato; et quam impatiens iuris aequi pietas Africani fuerit,
cunctis apparuit: eodem enim die Scipio Africanus, quo
viatoris manibus fratrem abstulerat, tribuno quoque
plebis privatus intercessit. Tam magno tamen fratrem
desideravit hic animo, quam defenderat. Quid referam 5
Aemilianum Scipionem, qui uno paene eodemque tempore
spectavit patris triumphum duorumque fratrum funera?
Adulescentulus tamen ac propemodum puer tanto animo
tulit illam familiae suae super ipsum Pauli triumphum
concidentis subitam vastitatem, quanto debuit ferre vir in
hoc natus, ne urbi Romanae aut Scipio deesset aut Car-
thago superesset.

XV. [34.] Quid referam duorum Lucullorum di- 1
remptam morte concordiam? Quid Pompeios? Quibus
ne hoc quidem saeviens reliquit fortuna, ut una eademque
conciderent ruina: vixit Sextus Pompeius primum sorori
superstes, cuius morte optime cohaerentis Romanae
pacis vincula resoluta sunt, idemque hic vixit superstes
optimo fratri, quem fortuna in hoc evexerat, ne minus
alte eum deiceret, quam patrem deiecerat; et post hunc
tamen casum Sextus Pompeius non tantum dolori, sed
etiam bello suffecit. Innumerabilia undique exempla 2
separatorum morte fratrum succurrunt, immo contra
vix ulla umquam horum paria conspecta sunt una senes-
centia; sed contentus nostrae domus exemplis ero.
Nemo enim tam expers erit sensus ac sanitatis, ut For-
tunam ulli queratur luctum intulisse, quam sciet etiam
Caesarum lacrimas concupisse. Divus Augustus amisit 3
Octaviam sororem carissimam et ne ei quidem rerum

natura lugendi necessitatem abstulit, cui caelum destinaverat, immo vero idem omni genere orbitatis vexatus sororis filium successioni praeparatum suae perdidit; denique ne singulos eius luctus enumerem, et generos ille amisit et liberos et nepotes, ac nemo magis ex omnibus mortalibus hominem esse se, dum inter homines erat, sensit. Tamen tot tantosque luctus cepit rerum omnium capacissimum eius pectus victorque divus Augustus non gentium tantummodo externarum, sed etiam dolorum
4 fuit. Gaius Caesar, divi Augusti, avunculi mei magni, nepos, circa primos iuventae suae annos Lucium fratrem carissimum sibi princeps iuventutis principem eiusdem iuventutis amisit in apparatu Parthici belli et graviore multo animi volnere quam postea corporis ictus est;
5 quod utrumque et piissime idem et fortissime tulit. *Ti.* Caesar patruus meus Drusum Germanicum patrem meum, minorem natu quam ipse erat fratrem, intima Germaniae recludentem et gentes ferocissimas Romano subicientem imperio in complexu et in osculis suis amisit: modum tamen lugendi non sibi tantum sed etiam aliis fecit ac totum exercitum non solum maestum sed etiam attonitum corpus Drusi sui sibi vindicantem ad morem Romani luctus redegit iudicavitque non militandi tantum disciplinam esse servandam sed etiam dolendi. Non potuisset ille lacrimas alienas compescere, nisi prius pressisset suas.

1 XVI. [35.] M. Antonius avus meus, nullo minor nisi eo a quo victus est, tunc cum rem publicam constitueret et triumvirali potestate praeditus nihil supra se videret, exceptis vero duobus collegis omnia infra se cerneret,
2 fratrem interfectum audivit. Fortuna impotens, quales ex humanis malis tibi ipsa ludos facis! Eo ipso tempore,

quo M. Antonius civium suorum vitae sedebat mortisque arbiter, M. Antonii frater duci iubebatur ad supplicium! Tulit hoc tamen tam triste vulnus eadem magnitudine animi M. Antonius, qua omnia alia adversa toleraverat, et hoc fuit eius lugere viginti legionum sanguine fratri parentare. Sed ut omnia alia exempla praeteream, ut in 3
me quoque ipso alia taceam funera, bis me fraterno luctu aggressa fortuna est, bis intellexit laedi me posse, vinci non posse: amisi Germanicum fratrem, quem quomodo amaverim, intellegit profecto quisquis cogitat, quomodo suos fratres pii fratres ament; sic tamen affectum meum rexi, ut nec relinquerem quicquam, quod exigi deberet a bono fratre, nec facerem, quod reprehendi posset in principe.'

Haec ergo puta tibi parentem publicum referre exempla, 4
eundem ostendere, quam nihil sacrum intactumque sit Fortunae, quae ex eis penatibus ausa est funera ducere, ex quibus erat deos petitura. Nemo itaque miretur aliquid ab illa aut crudeliter fieri aut inique; potest enim haec adversus privatas domos ullam aequitatem nosse aut ullam modestiam, cuius implacabilis saevitia totiens ipsa funestavit pulvinaria? Faciamus licet illi convicium 5
non nostro tantum ore sed etiam publico, non tamen mutabitur; adversus omnis se preces omnisque querimonias exiget. Hoc fuit in rebus humanis Fortuna, hoc erit: nihil inausum sibi reliquit, nihil intactum relinquet; ibit violentior per omnia, sicut solita est semper, eas quoque domos ausa iniuriae causa intrare, in quas per templa aditur, et atram laureatis foribus induet vestem. [36.] Hoc unum obtineamus ab illa votis ac precibus 6
publicis, si nondum illi genus humanum placuit consumere, si Romanum adhuc nomen propitia respicit:

hunc principem lapsis hominum rebus datum, sicut omnibus mortalibus, sibi esse sacratum velit! Discat ab illo clementiam fiatque mitissimo omnium principum mitis!

1 XVII. Debes itaque eos intueri omnes, quos paulo ante rettuli, aut adscitos caelo aut proximos, et ferre aequo animo Fortunam ad te quoque porrigentem manus, quas ne ab eis quidem, per quos iuramus, abstinet; debes illorum imitari firmitatem in perferendis et evincendis doloribus, in quantum modo homini fas est per 2 divina ire vestigia. Quamvis *sint* in aliis rebus dignitatum ac nobilitatum magna discrimina, virtus in medio posita est: neminem dedignatur, qui modo dignum se illa iudicat. Optime certe illos imitaberis, qui cum indignari possent non esse ipsos exsortes huius mali, tamen in hoc uno se ceteris exaequari hominibus non iniuriam sed ius mortalitatis iudicaverunt tuleruntque nec nimis acerbe et aspere, quod acciderat, nec molliter et effeminate; nam et non sentire mala sua non est hominis et 3 non ferre non est viri. Non possum tamen, cum omnes circumierim Caesares, quibus Fortuna fratres sororesque eripuit, hunc praeterire ex omni Caesarum numero excerpendum, quem rerum natura in exitium opprobriumque humani generis edidit, a quo imperium adustum atque eversum funditus principis mitissimi recreat cle- 4 mentia. C. Caesar amissa sorore Drusilla, is homo, qui non magis dolere quam gaudere principaliter posset, conspectum conversationemque civium suorum profugit, exsequiis sororis suae non interfuit, iusta sorori non praestitit, sed in Albano suo tesseris ac foro et pervolgatis huiusmodi aliis occupationibus acerbissimi funeris elevabat mala. Pro pudor imperii! Principis Romani

lugentis sororem alea solacium fuit! Idem ille Gaius furiosa inconstantia modo barbam capillumque summittens modo Italiae ac Siciliae oras errabundus permetiens et numquam satis certus, utrum lugeri vellet an coli sororem, eodem omni tempore, quo templa illi constituebat ac pulvinaria, eos qui parum maesti fuerant, crudelissima adficiebat animadversione; eadem enim intemperie animi adversarum rerum ictus ferebat, qua secundarum elatus eventu super humanum intumescebat modum. Procul istud exemplum ab omni Romano sit viro, luctum suum aut intempestivis sevocare lusibus aut sordium ac squaloris foeditate inritare aut alienis malis oblectare minime humano solacio.

XVIII. Tibi vero nihil ex consuetudine mutandum est tua, quoniam quidem ea instituisti amare studia, quae et optime felicitatem extollunt et facillime minuunt calamitatem eademque et ornamenta maxima homini sunt et solacia. [37.] Nunc itaque te studiis tuis immerge altius, nunc illa tibi velut munimenta animi circumda, ne ex ulla tui parte inveniat introitum dolor. Fratris quoque tui produc memoriam aliquo scriptorum monimento tuorum; hoc enim unum est *in* rebus humanis opus, cui nulla tempestas noceat, quod nulla consumat vetustas. Cetera, quae per constructionem lapidum et marmoreas moles aut terrenos tumulos in magnam eductos altitudinem constant, non propagant longam diem, quippe et ipsa intereunt: immortalis est ingeni memoria. Hanc tu fratri tuo largire, in hac eum conloca; melius illum duraturo semper consecrabis ingenio quam inrito dolore lugebis. Quod ad ipsam Fortunam pertinet, etiam si nunc agi apud te causa eius non potest — omnia enim illa, quae nobis dedit, ob hoc ipsum, quod aliquid

eripuit, invisa sunt —, tunc tamen erit agenda, cum primum aequiorem te illi iudicem dies fecerit; tunc enim poteris in gratiam cum illa redire. Nam multa providit, quibus hanc emendaret iniuriam, multa etiamnunc dabit, quibus redimat; denique ipsum hoc, quod abstulit ipsa
4 dederat tibi. Noli ergo contra te ingenio uti tuo, noli adesse dolori tuo. Potest quidem eloquentia tua quae parva sunt adprobare pro magnis, rursus magna attenuare et ad minima deducere; sed alio istas vires servet suas, nunc tota se in solacium tuum conferat. Et tamen dispice, ne hoc iam quoque ipsum sit supervacuum; aliquid enim a nobis natura exigit, plus vanitate contrahitur.
5 Numquam autem ego a te, ne ex toto maereas, exigam. Et scio inveniri quosdam durae magis quam fortis prudentiae viros, qui negent doliturum esse sapientem: hi non videntur mihi umquam in eiusmodi casum incidisse, alioquin excussisset illis fortuna superbam sapientiam et ad confessionem eos veri etiam invitos compulisset.
6 Satis praestiterit ratio, si id unum ex dolore, quod et superest et abundat, exciderit: ut quidem nullum omnino esse eum patiatur, nec sperandum ulli nec concupiscendum est. Hunc potius modum servet, qui nec impietatem imitetur nec insaniam et nos in eo teneat habitu, qui et piae mentis est nec motae: fluant lacrimae, sed eaedem et desinant, trahantur ex imo gemitus pectore, sed idem et finiantur; sic rege animum tuum, ut et sapientibus
7 te adprobare possis et fratribus. Effice, ut frequenter fratris tui memoriam tibi velis occurrere, ut illum et sermonibus celebres et adsidua recordatione repraesentes tibi, quod ita demum consequi poteris, si tibi memoriam eius iucundam magis quam flebilem feceris; naturale est enim, ut semper animus ab eo refugiat, ad quod cum

tristitia revertitur. Cogita modestiam eius, cogita in 8
rebus agendis sollertiam, in exsequendis industriam, in promissis constantiam. Omnia dicta eius ac facta et aliis expone et tibimet ipse commemora. Qualis fuerit cogita qualisque sperari potuerit: quid enim de illo non tuto sponderi fratre posset?

Haec, utcumque potui, longo iam situ obsoleto et 9
hebetato animo composui. Quae si aut parum respondere ingenio tuo aut parum mederi dolori videbuntur, cogita, quam non possit is alienae vacare consolationi, quem sua mala occupatum tenent, et quam non facile Latina ei homini verba succurrant, quem barbarorum inconditus et barbaris quoque humanioribus gravis fremitus circumsonat.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

LUDUS DE MORTE CLAUDII CAESARIS

VEL

APOCOLOCYNTOSIS

1 I. Quid actum sit in caelo ante diem III. idus Octobris anno novo, initio saeculi felicissimi, volo memoriae tradere. Nihil nec offensae nec gratiae dabitur. Haec ita vera. Si quis quaesiverit unde sciam, primum, si noluero, non respondebo. Quis coacturus est? Ego scio me liberum factum, ex quo suum diem obiit ille, qui verum proverbium
2 fecerat, aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere. Si libuerit respondere, dicam quod mihi in buccam venerit. Quis umquam ab historico iuratores exegit? Tamen si necesse fuerit auctorem producere, quaerito ab eo qui Drusillam euntem in caelum vidit: idem Claudium vidisse se dicet iter facientem 'non passibus aequis.' Velit nolit, necesse est illi omnia videre, quae in caelo aguntur: Appiae viae curator est, qua scis et Divum Augustum et Tiberium
3 Caesarem ad deos isse. Hunc si interrogaveris, soli narrabit; coram pluribus numquam verbum faciet. Nam ex quo in senatu iuravit se Drusillam vidisse caelum adscendentem et illi pro tam bono nuntio nemo credidit, quod viderit verbis conceptis adfirmavit se non indicaturum, etiam si in medio foro hominem occisum vidisset. Ab hoc ego quae tum audivi, certa clara adfero, ita illum salvum et felicem habeam.

II. Iam Phoebus breviore via contraxerat ortum 1
lucis et obscuri crescebant tempora somni,
iamque suum victrix augebat Cynthia regnum
et deformis hiemps gratos carpebat honores
divitis autumni visoque senescere Baccho
carpebat raras serus vindemitor uvas.

Puto magis intellegi, si dixero: mensis erat October, 2
dies III. idus Octobris. Horam non possum certam tibi
dicere, facilius inter philosophos quam inter horologia
conveniet, tamen inter sextam et septimam erat. 'Nimis 3
rustice!' inquies: 'sunt omnes poetae non contenti ortus
et occasus describere, ut etiam medium diem inquietent;
tu sic transibis horam tam bonam?'

Iam medium curru Phoebus diviserat orbem 4
et propior nocti fessas quatiebat habenas
obliquo flexam deducens tramite lucem:

III. Claudius animam agere coepit nec invenire exitum 1
poterat. Tum Mercurius, qui semper ingenio eius de-
lectatus esset, unam e tribus Parcis seducit et ait: 'quid,
femina crudelissima, hominem miserum torqueri pateris?
Nec umquam tam diu cruciatus cesset? Annus sexa-
gesimus quartus est, ex quo cum anima luctatur. Quid
huic et rei publicae invides? Patere mathematicos ali- 2
quando verum dicere, qui illum, ex quo princeps factus
est, omnibus annis, omnibus mensibus efferunt. Et
tamen non est mirum si errant et horam eius nemo novit;
nemo enim umquam illum natum putavit. Fac quod
faciendum est:

"Dede neci, melior vacua sine regnet in aula."'

3 Sed Clotho 'ego mehercules' inquit 'pusillum temporis adicere illi volebam, dum hos pauculos, qui supersunt, civitate donaret; constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos togatos videre; sed quoniam placet aliquos peregrinos in semen relinqui et tu ita iubes fieri,
4 fiat.' Aperit tum capsulam et tres fusos profert: unus erat Augurini, alter Babae, tertius Claudii. 'Hos' inquit 'tres uno anno exiguis intervallis temporum divisos mori iubebo, nec illum incomitatum dimittam. Non oportet enim eum, qui modo se tot milia hominum sequentia videbat, tot praecedentia, tot circumfusa, subito solum destitui. Contentus erit his interim convictoribus.'

1 IV. Haec ait et turpi convolvens stamina fuso
abrupit stolidae regalia tempora vitae.
At Lachesis redimita comas, ornata capillos,
Pieria crinem lauro frontemque coronans
candida de niveo subtemina vellere sumit
felici moderanda manu, quae ducta colorem
adsumpsere novum. Mirantur pensa sorores:
mutatur vilis pretioso lana metallo,
aurea formoso descendunt saecula filo.
10 Nec modus est illis, felicia vellera ducunt
et gaudent implere manus, sunt dulcia pensa.
Sponte sua festinat opus nulloque labore
mollia contorto descendunt stamina fuso.
Vincunt Tithoni, vincunt et Nestoris annos.
Phoebus adest cantuque iuvat gaudetque futuris
et laetus nunc plectra movet, nunc pensa ministrat.
Detinet intentas cantu fallitque laborem.
Dumque nimis citharam fraternaque carmina
laudant,

plus solito nevere manus humanaque fata
laudatum transcendit opus. 'Ne demite, Parcae,'
Phoebus ait 'vincat mortalis tempora vitae
ille mihi similis vultu similisque decore
nec cantu nec voce minor. Felicia lassis
saecula praestabit legumque silentia rumpet.
Qualis discutiens fugientia Lucifer astra
aut qualis surgit redeuntibus Hesperus astris,
qualis, cum primum tenebris Aurora solutis
induxit rubicunda diem, Sol aspicit orbem
lucidus et primos a carcere concitat axes:
talis Caesar adest, talem iam Roma Neronem
aspiciet. Flagrat nitidus fulgore remisso
vultus et adfuso cervix formosa capillo.'

Haec Apollo. At Lachesis, quae et ipsa homini formo- 2
sissimo faveret, fecit illud plena manu, et Neroni multos annos de suo donat. Claudium autem iubent omnes

χαίροντας, εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων

Et ille quidem animam ebulliit, et ex eo desiit vivere videri. Exspiravit autem dum comoedos audit, ut scias me non sine causa illos timere. Ultima vox eius haec 3
inter homines audita est, cum maiorem sonitum emisisset illa parte, qua facilius loquebatur: 'vae me, puto, concacavi me.' Quod an fecerit, nescio: omnia certe concacavit.

V. Quae in terris postea sint acta, supervacuum est 1
referre. Scitis enim optime, nec periculum est ne excidant quae memoriae gaudium publicum impresserit: nemo felicitatis suae obliviscitur. In caelo quae acta sint, audite: fides penes auctorem erit. Nuntiatur Iovi 2

venisse quendam bonae staturae, bene canum; nescio quid illum minari, adsidue enim caput movere; pedem dextrum trahere. Quaesisse se, cuius nationis esset: respondisse nescio quid perturbato sono et voce confusa; non intellegere se linguam eius, nec Graecum esse nec
3 Romanum nec ullius gentis notae. Tum Iuppiter Herculem, qui totum orbem terrarum pererraverat et nosse videbatur omnes nationes, iubet ire et explorare, quorum hominum esset. Tum Hercules primo aspectu sane perturbatus est, ut qui etiam non omnia monstra timuerit. Ut vidit novi generis faciem, insolitum incessum, vocem nullius terrestris animalis sed qualis esse marinis beluis solet, raucam et implicatam, putavit sibi tertium deci-
4 mum laborem venisse. Diligentius intuenti visus est quasi homo. Accessit itaque et, quod facillimum fuit Graeculo, ait:

τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν, πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;

Claudius gaudet esse illic philologos homines, sperat futurum aliquem historiis suis locum. Itaque et ipse Homerico versu Caesarem se esse significans ait:

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν.

Erat autem sequens versus verior, aeque Homericus:

ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὦλεσα δ' αὐτούς.

1 VI. Et imposuerat Herculi minime vafro, nisi fuisset illic Febris, quae fano suo relicto sola cum illo venerat: ceteros omnes deos Romae reliquerat. 'Iste' inquit 'mera mendacia narrat. Ego tibi dico, quae cum illo tot annis vixi: Luguduni natus est, Marci municipem vides. Quod tibi narro, ad sextum decimum lapidem natus est a Vienna, Gallus germanus. Itaque quod Gallum facere

oportebat, Romam cepit. Hunc ego tibi recipio Luguduni natum, ubi Licinus multis annis regnavit. Tu autem, qui plura loca calcasti quam ullus mulio perpetuarius Lugudunensis, scire debes multa milia inter Xanthum et Rhodanum interesse.' Excandescit hoc loco Claudius et 2
quanto potest murmure irascitur. Quid diceret, nemo intellegebat, ille autem Febrim duci iubebat. Illo gestu solutae manus et ad hoc unum satis firmae, quo decollare homines solebat, iusserat illi collum praecidi. Putares omnes illius esse libertos: adeo illum nemo curabat.

VII. Tum Hercules 'audi me' inquit, 'tu desine fatuari. 1
Venisti huc, ubi mures ferrum rodunt. Citius mihi verum, ne tibi alogias excutiam.' Et quo terribilior esset, tragicus fit et ait:

'Exprome propere, sede qua genitus cluas, 2
hoc ne peremptus stipite ad terram accidas;
haec clava reges saepe mactavit feros.
Quid nunc profatu vocis incerto sonas?
Quae patria, quae gens mobile eduxit caput?
Edissere. Equidem regna tergemini petens
longinqua regis, unde ab Hesperio mari
Inachiam ad urbem nobile advexi pecus,
vidi duobus imminens fluviis iugum,
quod Phoebus ortu semper obverso videt,
ubi Rhodanus ingens amne praerapido fluit,
Ararque dubitans, quo suos cursus agat,
tacitus quietis adluit ripas vadis.
Estne illa tellus spiritus altrix tui?'

Haec satis animose et fortiter; nihilo minus mentis suae 3
non est et timet *μωροῦ πληγήν*. Claudius ut vidit virum valentem, oblitus nugarum intellexit neminem Romae sibi

parem fuisse, illic non habere se idem gratiae: gallum in
4 suo sterquilino plurimum posse. Itaque quantum intellegi potuit, haec visus est dicere: 'ego te, fortissime deorum Hercule, speravi mihi adfuturum apud alios, et si qui a me notorem petisset, te fui nominaturus, qui me optime nosti. Nam si memoria repetis, ego eram qui tibi ante templum tuum ius dicebam totis diebus mense Iulio et
5 Augusto. Tu scis, quantum illic miseriarum contulerim, cum causidicos audirem diem et noctem, in quos si incidisses, valde fortis licet tibi videaris, maluisses cloacas Augeae purgare: multo plus ego stercoris exhausi. Sed quoniam volo' ***

1 VIII. 'Non mirum quod in curiam impetum fecisti: nihil tibi clausi est. Modo dic nobis, qualem deum istum fieri velis. Ἐπικούρειος θεὸς non potest esse: οὔτε αὐτὸς πρᾶγμα ἔχει τι οὔτε ἄλλοις παρέχει; Stoicus? Quomodo potest "rotundus" esse, ut ait Varro, "sine capite, sine praeputio"? Est aliquid in illo Stoici dei, iam video: nec
2 cor nec caput habet. Si mehercules a Saturno petisset hoc beneficium, cuius mensem toto anno celebravit Saturnalicius princeps, non tulisset illud, nedum ab Iove, quem quantum quidem in illo fuit, damnavit incesti. Silanum enim generum suum occidit propterea quod sororem suam, festivissimam omnium puellarum, quam omnes Venerem vocarent, maluit Iunonem vocare. "Quare," inquis, "quaero enim, sororem suam?" stulte, stude:
3 Athenis dimidium licet, Alexandriae totum. "Quia Romae" inquis "mures molas lingunt." Hic nobis curva conriget? Quid in cubiculo suo faciat, nescit, et iam "caeli scrutatur plagas." Deus fieri vult: parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc barbari colunt et ut deum orant μωροῦ εὐιλάτου τυχεῖν?'

IX. Tandem Iovi venit in mentem, privatis intra 1
curiam morantibus sententiam dicere *non licere* nec disputare. 'Ego,' inquit, 'P. C. interrogare vobis permiseram, vos mera mapalia fecistis. Volo ut servetis disciplinam curiae. Hic qualiscumque est, quid de nobis existimabit?' Illo dimisso primus interrogatur senten- 2
tiam Ianus pater. Is designatus erat in kal. Iulias postmeridianus consul, homo quantumvis vafer, qui semper videt *ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω*. Is multa diserte, quod in Foro vivebat, dixit, quae notarius persequi non potuit et ideo non refero, ne aliis verbis ponam, quae ab illo dicta sunt. Multa dixit de magnitudine deorum: 3
non debere hunc vulgo dari honorem. 'Olim,' inquit, 'magna res erat deum fieri; iam famam mimum fecisti. Itaque ne videar in personam, non in rem dicere sententiam, censeo ne quis post hunc diem deus fiat ex his, qui *ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν* aut ex his, quos alit *ζείδωρος ἄρουρα*. Qui contra hoc senatus consultum deus factus, dictus pictusve erit, eum dedi Laruis et proximo munere inter novos auctoratos ferulis vapulare placet.' Proximus interrogatur sententiam Diespiter Vicae Potae 4
filius, et ipse designatus consul, nummulariolus: hoc quaestu se sustinebat, vendere civitatulas solebat. Ad hunc belle accessit Hercules et auriculam illi tetigit. Censet itaque in haec verba: 'cum Divus Claudius et 5
Divum Augustum sanguine contingat nec minus Divam Augustam aviam suam, quam ipse deam esse iussit, longeque omnes mortales sapientia antecellat, sitque e re publica esse aliquem qui cum Romulo possit "ferventia rapa vorare," censeo uti Divus Claudius ex hac die deus sit, ita uti ante eum qui optimo iure factus sit, eamque rem ad Metamorphosis Ovidi adiciendam.' Variae 6

erant sententiae, et videbatur Claudius sententiam vincere. Hercules enim, qui videret ferrum suum in igne esse, modo huc modo illuc cursabat et aiebat: 'noli mihi invidere, mea res agitur; deinde tu si quid volueris, in vicem faciam; manus manum lavat.'

1 X. Tunc Divus Augustus surrexit sententiae suae loco dicendae et summa facundia disseruit: 'Ego,' inquit, 'P. C. vos testes habeo, ex quo deus factus sum, nullum me verbum fecisse: semper meum negotium ago. Sed non possum amplius dissimulare et dolorem, quem gravi-
2 orem pudor facit, continere. In hoc terra marique pacem peperi? Ideo civilia bella compescui? Ideo legibus urbem fundavi, operibus ornavi, ut — quid dicam, P. C. non invenio: omnia infra indignationem verba sunt. Confugiendum est itaque ad Messalae Corvini, disertissimi
3 viri, illam sententiam, "pudet imperii." Hic, P. C., qui vobis non posse videtur muscam excitare, tam facile homines occidebat, quam canis adsidit. Sed quid ego de tot ac talibus viris dicam? Non vacat deflere publicas clades intuenti domestica mala. Itaque illa omittam, haec referam; nam etiam si soror mea [Graece] nescit,
4 ego scio: ἔγγιον γόνυ κνήμης. Iste quem videtis, per tot annos sub meo nomine latens, hanc mihi gratiam rettulit, ut duas Iulias proneptes meas occideret, alteram ferro, alteram fame, unum abnepotem L. Silanum. Videris Iuppiter an in causa mala, certe in tua, si aecus futurus es. Dic mihi, Dive Claudi, quare quemquam ex his, quos quasque occidisti, antequam de causa cognosceres, antequam audires, damnasti? Hoc ubi fieri solet? In caelo non fit.

1 XI. Ecce Iuppiter, qui tot annos regnat, uni Volcano crus fregit, quem

ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο,

et iratus fuit uxori et suspendit illam: numquid occidit? Tu Messalinam, cuius aeque avunculus maior eram quam tuus, occidisti. "Nescio" inquis. Di tibi male faciant: adeo istuc turpius est, quod nescisti, quam quod occidisti. C. Caesarem non desiit mortuum persequi. Occiderat 2 ille socerum: hic et generum. Gaius Crassi filium vetuit Magnum vocari: hic nomen illi reddidit, caput tulit. Occidit in una domo Crassum, Magnum, Scriboniam, tris homines assarios, nobiles tamen, Crassum vero tam fatuum, ut etiam regnare posset. Hunc nunc deum facere 3 vultis? Videte corpus eius dis iratis natum. Ad summam, tria verba cito dicat, et servum me ducat. Hunc 4 deum quis colet? Quis credet? Dum tales deos facitis, nemo vos deos esse credet. Summa rei, P. C., si honeste *me* inter vos gessi, si nulli clarius respondi, vindicate iniurias meas. Ego pro sententia mea hoc censeo:' atque ita ex tabella recitavit: 'quando quidem Divus Claudius 5 occidit socerum suum Appium Silanum, generos duos Magnum Pompeium et L. Silanum, socerum filiae suae Crassum Frugi, hominem tam similem sibi quam ovo ovum, Scriboniam socrum filiae suae, uxorem suam Messalinam et ceteros quorum numerus iniri non potuit, placet mihi in eum severe animadverti nec illi rerum iudicandarum vacationem dari eumque quam primum exportari et caelo intra triginta dies excedere, Olympo intra diem tertium.'

Pedibus in hanc sententiam itum est. Nec mora, 6 Cyllenius illum collo obtorto trahit ad inferos [a caelo]

'unde negant redire quemquam.'

XII. Dum descendunt per viam Sacram, interrogat 1 Mercurius, quid sibi velit ille concursus hominum, num

Claudii funus esset? Et erat omnium formosissimum et impensa cura, plane ut scires deum efferri: tubicinum, cornicinum, omnis generis aenatorum tanta turba, tantus
2 concentus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset. Omnes laeti, hilares: populus Romanus ambulabat tamquam liber. Agatho et pauci causidici plorabant, sed plane ex animo. Iurisconsulti e tenebris procedebant, pallidi, graciles, vix animam habentes, tamquam qui tum maxime reviviscerent. Ex his unus cum vidisset capita conferentes et fortunas suas deplorantes causidicos, accedit et ait: 'dicebam vobis: non semper Saturnalia erunt.'
3 Claudius ut vidit funus suum, intellexit se mortuum esse. Ingenti enim *μεγάλῳ χορικῷ* nenia cantabatur anapaestis:

'Fundite fletus, edite planctus,
resonet tristi clamore Forum:
cecidit pulchre cordatus homo,
quo non alius fuit in toto
fortior orbe.
Ille citato vincere cursu
poterat celeres, ille rebelles
fundere Parthos levibusque sequi
Persida telis, certaque manu
tendere nervum, qui praecipites
vulnere parvo figeret hostes,
pictaque Medi terga fugacis.
Ille Britannos ultra noti
litora ponti
et caeruleos scuta Brigantas
dare Romuleis colla catenis
iussit et ipsum nova Romanae
iura securis tremere Oceanum.

Deflete virum, quo non alius
potuit citius discere causas,
una tantum parte audita,
saepe nec utra. Quis nunc iudex
toto lites audiet anno?
Tibi iam cedet sede relicta,
qui dat populo iura silenti,
Cretaea tenens oppida centum.
Caedite maestis pectora palmis,
o causidici, venale genus.
Vosque poetae lugete novi,
vosque in primis qui concusso
magna parastis lucra fritillo.'

XIII. Delectabatur laudibus suis Claudius et cupiebat 1
diutius spectare. Inicit illi manum Talthybius deorum
et trahit capite obvoluto, ne quis eum possit agnoscere,
per campum Martium, et inter Tiberim et viam Tectam
descendit ad inferos. Antecesserat iam compendiaria 2
Narcissus libertus ad patronum excipiendum et venienti
nitidus, ut erat a balineo, occurrit et ait: 'quid di ad
homines?' 'Celerius,' inquit Mercurius, 'et venire nos
nuntia.' Dicto citius Narcissus evolat. Omnia proclivia 3
sunt, facile descenditur. Itaque quamvis podagricus
esset, momento temporis pervenit ad ianuam Ditis
ubi iacebat Cerberus vel, ut ait Horatius, 'belua centiceps.'
Pusillum perturbatur — subalbam canem in deliciis
habere adsueverat — ut illum vidit canem nigrum,
villosum, sane non quem velis tibi in tenebris occurrere.
Et magna voce, 'Claudius,' inquit, 'veniet.' Cum plausu 4
procedunt cantantes: εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν. Hic erat C.
Silius consul designatus, Iuncus praetorius, Sex. Traulus,

M. Helvius, Trogus, Cotta, Vettius Valens, Fabius, equites R. quos Narcissus duci iusserat. Medius erat in hac cantantium turba Mnester pantomimus, quem Claudius
5 decoris causa minorem fecerat. Ad Messalinam — cito rumor percrebuit Claudium venisse — convolant: primi omnium liberti Polybius, Myron, Harpocras, Amphaeus, Pheronactus, quos Claudius omnes, necubi imparatus esset, praemiserat; deinde praefecti duo Iustus Catonius et Rufrius Pollio; deinde amici Saturninus Lusius et Pedo Pompeius et Lupus et Celer Asinius consulares; novissime fratris filia, sororis filia, generi, soceri, socrus, omnes plane consanguinei. Et agmine facto Claudio
6 occurrunt. Quos cum vidisset Claudius, exclamat: *πάντα φιλων πλήρη*, 'quomodo huc venistis vos?' Tum Pedo Pompeius: 'quid dicis, homo crudelissime? Quaeris quomodo? Quis enim nos alius huc misit quam tu, omnium amicorum interfector? In ius eamus: ego tibi hic sellas ostendam.'

1 XIV. Ducit illum ad tribunal Aeaci: is lege Cornelia quae de sicariis lata est, quaerebat. Postulat nomen eius recipiat; edit subscriptionem: occisos senatores XXXV,
2 equites R. CCXXI, ceteros *ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε*. Advocatum non invenit. Tandem procedit P. Petronius, vetus convictor eius, homo Claudiana lingua disertus, et postulat advocationem. Non datur. Accusat Pedo Pompeius magnis clamoribus. Incipit patronus velle respondere. Aeacus, homo iustissimus, vetat et illum altera tantum parte audita condemnat et ait: *αἶκε πάθοι τά τ'*
3 *ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο*. Ingens silentium factum est. Stupebant omnes novitate rei attoniti; negabant hoc umquam factum. Claudio magis iniquum videbatur quam novum. De genere poenae diu disputatum est, quid

illum pati oporteret. Erant qui dicerent, Sisyphum diu laturam fecisse, Tantalum siti periturum nisi illi succurreretur, aliquando Ixionis miseri rotam sufflaminandam. Non placuit ulli ex veteribus missionem dari, ne 4
vel Claudius umquam simile speraret. Placuit novam poenam constitui debere, excogitandum illi laborem inritum et alicuius cupiditatis spem sine fine et effectu. Tum Aeacus iubet illum alea ludere pertuso fritillo. Et iam coeperat fugientes semper tesseras quaerere et nihil proficere:

XV. Nam quotiens missurus erat resonante fritillo, 1
utraque subducto fugiebat tessera fundo.
Cumque recollectos auderet mittere talos,
lusuro similis semper semperque petenti,
decepere fidem: refugit digitosque per ipsos
fallax adsiduo dilabitur alea furto.
Sic cum iam summi tanguntur culmina montis,
inrita Sisyphio volvuntur pondera collo.

Apparuit subito C. Caesar et petere illum in servitutem 2
coepit; producit testes, qui illum viderant ab ipso flagris, ferulis, colaphis vapulantem. Adiudicatur C. Caesari; Caesar illum Aeaco donat. Is Menandro liberto suo tradidit, ut a cognitionibus esset.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD NERONEM CAESAREM

DE CLEMENTIA

Liber I

1 I. Scribere de clementia, Nero Caesar, institui, ut quodam modo speculi vice fungerer et te tibi ostenderem perventurum ad voluptatem maximam omnium. Quamvis enim recte factorum verus fructus sit fecisse nec ullum virtutum pretium dignum illis extra ipsas sit, iuvat inspicere et circumire bonam conscientiam, tum immittere oculos in hanc immensam multitudinem discordem, seditiosam, impotentem, in perniciem alienam suamque pariter exsultaturam, si hoc iugum fregerit, *et* ita loqui
2 secum: 'Egone ex omnibus mortalibus placui electusque sum, qui in terris deorum vice fungerer? Ego vitae necisque gentibus arbiter; qualem quisque sortem statumque habeat, in mea manu positum est; quid cuique mortalium Fortuna datum velit, meo ore pronuntiat; ex nostro responso laetitiae causas populi urbesque concipiunt; nulla pars usquam nisi volente propitioque me floret; haec tot milia gladiorum, quae pax mea comprimit, ad nutum meum stringentur; quas nationes funditus excidi, quas transportari, quibus libertatem dari, quibus eripi, quos reges mancipia fieri quorumque capiti regium circumdari decus oporteat, quae ruant urbes, quae orian-

tur, mea iuris dictio est. In hac tanta facultate rerum 3
non ira me ad iniqua supplicia compulit, non iuvenilis
impetus, non temeritas hominum et contumacia, quae
saepe tranquillissimis quoque pectoribus patientiam
extorsit, non ipsa ostentandae per terrores potentiae
dira, sed frequens magnis imperiis gloria. Conditum,
immo constrictum apud me ferrum est, summa parsimonia
etiam vilissimi sanguinis; nemo non, cui alia desunt,
hominis nomine apud me gratiosus est. Severitatem 4
abditam, at clementiam in procinctu habeo; sic me
custodio, tamquam legibus, quas ex situ ac tenebris in
lucem evocavi, rationem redditurus sim. Alterius aetate
prima motus sum, alterius ultima; alium dignitati donavi,
alium humilitati; quotiens nullam inveneram miseri-
cordiae causam, mihi peperci. Hodie dis immortalibus,
si a me rationem repetant, adnumerare genus humanum
paratus sum.' Potes hoc, Caesar, audacter praedicare: 5
omnia, quae in fidem tutelam*que tuam venerunt, tuta ha*beri, nihil per te neque vi neque clam adimi rei publicae.
Rarissimam laudem et nulli adhuc principum concessam
concupisti innocentiam. Non perdit operam nec bonitas
ista tua singularis ingratos aut malignos aestimatores
nancta est. Refertur tibi gratia; nemo unus homo uni
homini tam carus umquam fuit, quam tu populo Romano,
magnum longumque eius bonum. Sed ingens tibi onus 6
imposuisti; nemo iam divum Augustum nec Ti. Caesaris
prima tempora loquitur nec, quod te imitari velit, exemplar
extra te quaerit; principatus tuus ad gustum exigitur.
Difficile hoc fuisset, si non naturalis tibi ista bonitas esset,
sed ad tempus sumpta. Nemo enim potest personam
diu ferre, ficta cito in naturam suam recidunt; quibus
veritas subest quaeque, ut ita dicam, ex solido enascun-

7 tur, tempore ipso in maius meliusque procedunt. Magnam adibat aleam populus Romanus, cum incertum esset, quo se ista tua nobilis indoles daret; iam vota publica in tuto sunt; nec enim periculum est, ne te subita tui capiat oblivio. Facit quidem avidos nimia felicitas, nec tam temperatae cupiditates sunt umquam, ut in eo, quod contigit, desinant; gradus a magnis ad maiora fit, et spes improbissimas conplectuntur insperata adsecuti; omnibus tamen nunc civibus tuis et haec confessio exprimitur esse felices et illa nihil iam his accedere bonis
8 posse, nisi ut perpetua sint. Multa illos cogunt ad hanc confessionem, qua nulla in homine tardior est: securitas alta, adfluens, ius supra omnem iniuriam positum; obversatur oculis laetissima forma rei publicae, cui ad sum-
9 mam libertatem nihil deest nisi pereundi licentia. Praecipue tamen aequalis ad maximos imosque pervenit clementiae tuae admiratio; cetera enim bona pro portione fortunae suae quisque sentit aut exspectat maiora minoraque, ex clementia omnes idem sperant; nec est quisquam, cui tam valde innocentia sua placeat, ut non stare in conspectu clementiam paratam humanis erroribus gaudeat.

1 II. Esse autem aliquos scio, qui clementia pessimum quemque putent sustineri, quoniam nisi post crimen supervacua est et sola haec virtus inter innocentes cessat. Sed primum omnium, sicut medicinae apud aegros usus, etiam apud sanos honor est, ita clementiam, quamvis poena digni invocent, etiam innocentes colunt. Deinde habet haec in persona quoque innocentium locum, quia interim fortuna pro culpa est; nec innocentiae tantum clementia succurrit, sed saepe virtuti, quoniam quidem condicione temporum incidunt quaedam, quae possint
2 laudata puniri. Adice, quod magna pars hominum est,

quae reverti ad innocentiam possit. Sed non tamen volgo ignoscere decet; nam ubi discrimen inter malos bonosque sublatum est, confusio sequitur et vitiorum eruptio; itaque adhibenda moderatio est, quae sanabilia ingenia distinguere a deploratis sciat. Nec promiscuam habere ac volgarem clementiam oportet nec abscisam; nam tam omnibus ignoscere crudelitas quam nulli. Modum tenere debemus; sed quia difficile est temperamentum, quidquid aequo plus futurum est, in partem humaniorem praeponderet.

III. Sed haec suo melius loco dicentur. Nunc in tres 1
partes omnem hanc materiam dividam. Prima erit mansuetudinis vel poenae remissionis; secunda, quae naturam clementiae habitumque demonstret: nam cum sint vitia quaedam virtutes imitantia, non possunt secerni, nisi signa, quibus dinoscantur, impresseris; tertio loco quaeremus, quomodo ad hanc virtutem perducatur animus, quomodo confirmet eam et usu suam faciat.

Nullam ex omnibus virtutibus homini magis convenire, 2
cum sit nulla humanior, constet necesse est non solum inter nos, qui hominem sociale animal communi bono genitum videri volumus, sed etiam inter illos, qui hominem voluptati donant, quorum omnia dicta factaque ad utilitates suas spectant; nam si quietem petit et otium, hanc virtutem naturae suae nanctus est, quae pacem amat et manus retinet. Nullum tamen clementia ex 3
omnibus magis quam regem aut principem decet. Ita enim magnae vires decori gloriaeque sunt, si illis salutaris potentia est; nam pestifera vis est valere ad nocendum. Illius demum magnitudo stabilis fundataque est, quem omnes tam supra se esse quam pro se sciunt, cuius curam excubare pro salute singulorum atque universorum

cottidie experiuntur, quo procedente non, tamquam malum aliquod aut noxium animal e cubili prosilierit, diffugiunt, sed tamquam ad clarum ac beneficum sidus certatim advolant. Obicere se pro illo mucronibus insidiantium paratissimi et substernere corpora sua, si per stragem illi humanam iter ad salutem struendum sit, somnum eius nocturnis excubiis muniunt, latera obiecti circumfusique defendunt, incurrentibus periculis se op-
4 ponunt. Non est hic sine ratione populis urbibusque consensus sic protegendi amandique reges et se suaque iactandi, quocumque desideravit imperantis salus; nec haec vilitas sui est aut dementia pro uno capite tot milia excipere ferrum ac multis mortibus unam animam redi-
5 mere nonnumquam senis et invalidi. Quemadmodum totum corpus animo deservit et, cum hoc tanto maius tantoque speciosius sit, ille in occulto maneat tenuis et in qua sede latitet incertus, tamen manus, pedes, oculi negotium illi gerunt, illum haec cutis munit, illius iussu iacemus aut inquieti discurrimus, cum ille imperavit, sive avarus dominus est, mare lucri causa scrutamur, sive ambitiosus, iam dudum dextram flammis obiecimus aut voluntarii terram subsiluimus, sic haec immensa multitudo unius animae circumdata illius spiritu regitur, illius ratione flectitur pressura se ac fractura viribus suis, nisi consilio sustineretur.

1 IV. Suam itaque incolumitatem amant, cum pro uno homine denas legiones in aciem deducunt, cum in primam frontem procurrunt et adversa volneribus pectora ferunt, ne imperatoris sui signa vertantur. Ille est enim vinculum, per quod res publica cohaeret, ille spiritus vitalis, quem haec tot milia trahunt nihil ipsa per se futura nisi onus et praeda, si mens illa imperii subtrahatur.

Rege incolumi mens omnibus una;
amisso rupere fidem.

Hic casus Romanae pacis exitium erit, hic tanti fortunam 2
populi in ruinas aget; tam diu ab isto periculo aberit hic
populus, quam diu sciet ferre frenos, quos si quando
abruperit vel aliquo casu discussos reponi sibi passus
non erit, haec unitas et hic maximi imperii contextus
in partes multas dissiliet, idemque huic urbi finis domi-
nandi erit, qui parendi fuerit. Ideo principes regesque 3
et quocumque alio nomine sunt tutores status publici
non est mirum amari ultra privatas etiam necessitudines;
nam si sanis hominibus publica privatis potiora sunt,
sequitur, ut is quoque carior sit, in quem se res publica
convertit. Olim enim ita se induit rei publicae Caesar,
ut seduci alterum non posset sine utriusque pernicie;
nam et illi viribus opus est et huic capite.

V. Longius videtur recessisse a proposito oratio mea, 1
at mehercules rem ipsam premit. Nam si, quod adhuc
colligit, tu animus rei publicae tuae es, illa corpus tuum,
vides, ut puto, quam necessaria sit clementia; tibi enim
parcis, cum videris alteri parcere. Parcendum itaque
est etiam improbandis civibus non aliter quam membris
languentibus, et, si quando misso sanguine opus est,
sustinenda est *manus*, ne ultra, quam necesse sit, incidat.
Est ergo, ut dicebam, clementia omnibus quidem homini- 2
bus secundum naturam, maxime tamen decora impera-
toribus, quanto plus habet apud illos, quod servet,
quantoque in maiore materia apparet. Quantulum enim
nocet privata crudelitas! principum saevitia bellum
est. Cum autem virtutibus inter *se sit* concordia nec 3
ulla altera melior aut honestior sit, quaedam tamen

quibusdam personis aptior est. Decet magnanimitas quemlibet mortalem, etiam illum, infra quem nihil est; quid enim maius aut fortius quam malam fortunam retundere? Haec tamen magnanimitas in bona fortuna laxiorem locum habet meliusque in tribunali quam in
4 plano conspicitur. Clementia, in quamcumque domum pervenerit, eam felicem tranquillamque praestabit, sed in regia, quo rarior, eo mirabilior. Quid enim est memorabilius quam eum, cuius irae nihil obstat, cuius graviori sententiae ipsi, qui pereunt, adsentiuntur, quem nemo interpellaturus est, immo, si vehementius excanduit, ne deprecaturus est quidem, ipsum sibi manum inicere et potestate sua in melius placidiusque uti hoc ipsum cogitantem: 'Occidere contra legem nemo non potest, servare
5 nemo praeter me'? Magnam fortunam magnus animus decet, qui, nisi se ad illam extulit et altior stetit, illam quoque infra *ad* terram deducit; magni autem animi proprium est placidum esse tranquillumque et iniurias atque offensiones superne despicere. Muliebre est furere in ira, ferarum vero nec generosarum quidem praemordere et urguere proiectos. Elephanti leonesque transeunt,
6 quae impulerunt; ignobilis bestiae pertinacia est. Non decet regem saeva nec inexorabilis ira, non multum enim supra eum eminet, cui se irascendo exaequat; at si dat vitam, si dat dignitatem periclitantibus et meritis amittere, facit, quod nulli nisi rerum potenti licet; vita enim etiam
7 superiori eripitur, numquam nisi inferiori datur. Servare proprium est excellentis fortunae, quae numquam magis suspici debet, quam cum illi contigit idem posse quod dis, quorum beneficio in lucem edimur tam boni quam mali. Deorum itaque sibi animum adserens princeps alios ex civibus suis, quia utiles bonique sunt,

libens videat, alios in numerum relinquat; quosdam esse gaudeat, quosdam patiatur.

VI. Cogitato, in hac civitate, in qua turba per latissima 1
itinera sine intermissione defluens eliditur, quotiens aliquid obstitit, quod cursum eius velut torrentis rapidi moraretur, in qua tribus eodem tempore theatris caveae postulantur, in qua consumitur quicquid terris omnibus aratur, quanta solitudo ac vastitas futura sit, si nihil relinquatur, nisi quod iudex severus absolverit. Quotus 2
quisque ex quaesitoribus est, qui non ex ipsa ea lege teneatur, qua quaerit? Quotus quisque accusator vacat culpa? Et nescio, an nemo ad dandam veniam difficilior sit, quam qui illam petere saepius meruit. Peccavimus 3
omnes, alii gravia, alii leviora, alii ex destinato, alii forte impulsi aut aliena nequitia ablati; alii in bonis consiliis parum fortiter stetimus et innocentiam inviti ac retinentes perdidimus; nec deliquimus tantum, sed usque ad extremum aevi delinquemus. Etiam si quis tam bene 4
iam purgavit animum, ut nihil obturbare eum amplius possit ac fallere, ad innocentiam tamen peccando pervenit.

VII. Quoniam deorum feci mentionem, optime hoc 1
exemplum principi constituam, ad quod formetur, ut se talem esse civibus, quales sibi deos velit. Expedit ergo habere inexorabilia peccatis atque erroribus numina, expedit usque ad ultimam infesta perniciem? Et quis regum erit tutus, cuius non membra haruspices colligant? Quod si di placabiles et aequi delicta potentium non 2
statim fulminibus persequuntur, quanto aequius est hominem hominibus praepositum miti animo exercere imperium et cogitare, uter mundi status gratior oculis pulchriorque sit, sereno et puro die, an cum fragoribus crebris omnia quatiuntur et ignes hinc atque illinc micant! Atqui non

alia facies est quieti moratique imperii quam sereni caeli
3 et nitentis. Crudele regnum turbidum tenebrisque obscurum est, inter trementes et ad repentinum sonitum expavescentes ne eo quidem, qui omnia perturbat, inconcusso. Facilius privatis ignoscitur pertinaciter se vindicantibus; possunt enim laedi, dolorque eorum ab iniuria venit; timent praeterea contemptum, et non rettulisse laedentibus gratiam infirmitas videtur, non clementia; at cui ultio in facili est, is omissa ea certam
4 laudem mansuetudinis consequitur. Humili loco positis exercere manum, litigare, in rixam procurrere ac morem irae suae gerere liberius est; leves inter paria ictus sunt; regi vociferatio quoque verborumque intemperantia non ex maiestate est.

1 VIII. Grave putas eripi loquendi arbitrium regibus, quod humillimi habent. 'Ista' inquis 'servitus est, non imperium.' Quid? Tu non experiris istud nobis esse, tibi servitutem? Alia condicio est eorum, qui in turba, quam non excedunt, latent, quorum et virtutes, ut appareant, diu luctantur et vitia tenebras habent; vestra facta dictaque rumor excipit, et ideo nullis magis curandum est, qualem famam habeant, quam qui, qua-
2 lemcumque meruerint, magnam habituri sunt. Quam multa tibi non licent, quae nobis beneficio tuo licent! Possum in qualibet parte urbis solus incedere sine timore, quamvis nullus sequatur comes, nullus sit domi, nullus ad latus gladius; tibi in tua pace armato vivendum est. Aberrare a fortuna tua non potes; obsidet te et, quo-
3 cumque descendis, magno apparatu sequitur. Est haec summae magnitudinis servitus non posse fieri minorem; sed cum dis tibi communis ipsa necessitas est. Nam illos quoque caelum adligatos tenet, nec magis illis descendere

datum est quam tibi tutum; fastigio tuo adfixus es. Nostros motus pauci sentiunt, prodire nobis ac recedere et 4
mutare habitum sine sensu publico licet; tibi non magis quam soli latere contingit. Multa circa te lux est, omnium in istam conversi oculi sunt; prodire te putas? Oriris. Loqui non potes, nisi ut vocem tuam, quae ubique 5
sunt gentes, excipiant; irasci non potes, nisi ut omnia tremant, quia neminem adfligere, nisi ut, quidquid circa fuerit, quatiatur. Ut fulmina paucorum periculo cadunt, omnium metu, sic animadversiones magnarum potestatum terrent latius quam nocent, non sine causa; non enim, quantum fecerit, sed quantum facturus sit, cogitatur in eo, qui omnia potest. Adice nunc, quod 6
privatos homines ad accipiendas iniurias opportuniores acceptarum patientia facit, regibus certior est ex mansuetudine securitas, quia frequens vindicta paucorum odium opprimit, omnium inritat. Voluntas oportet 7
ante saeviendi quam causa deficiat; alioqui, quemadmodum praecisae arbores plurimis ramis repullulant et multa satorum genera, ut densiora surgant, reciduntur, ita regia crudelitas auget inimicorum numerum tollendo; parentes enim liberique eorum, qui interfecti sunt, et propinqui et amici in locum singulorum succedunt.

IX. Hoc quam verum sit, admonere te exemplo do- 1
mestico volo. Divus Augustus fuit mitis princeps, si quis illum a principatu suo aestimare incipiat; in communi quidem rei publicae gladium movit. Cum hoc aetatis esset, quod tu nunc es, duodevicensimum egressus annum, iam pugiones in sinum amicorum absconderat, iam insidiis M. Antonii consulis latus petierat, iam fuerat collega proscriptionis. Sed cum annum quadragensimum 2
transisset et in Gallia moraretur, delatum est ad eum

indicium L. Cinnam, stolidi ingenii virum, insidias ei struere; dictum est, et ubi et quando et quemadmodum
3 adgredi vellet; unus ex consciis deferebat. Constituit se ab eo vindicare et consilium amicorum advocari iussit. Nox illi inquieta erat, cum cogitaret adulescentem nobilem, hoc detracto integrum, Cn. Pompei nepotem, damnandum; iam unum hominem occidere non poterat, cui M. Antonius proscriptionis edictum inter cenam
4 dictarat. Gemens subinde voces varias emittebat et inter se contrarias: 'Quid ergo? Ego percussorem meum securum ambulare patiar me sollicito? Ergo non dabit poenas, qui tot civilibus bellis frustra petitum caput, tot navalibus, tot pedestribus proeliis incolume, postquam terra marique pax parata est, non occidere constituat, sed immolare?' (Nam sacrificantem placuerat
5 adoriri.) Rursus silentio interposito maiore multo voce sibi quam Cinnae irascebatur: 'Quid vivis, si perire te tam multorum interest? Quis finis erit suppliciorum? Quis sanguinis? Ego sum nobilibus adulescentulis expositum caput, in quod mucrones acuant; non est tanti vita, si, ut ego non peream, tam multa perdenda sunt.'
6 Interpellavit tandem illum Livia uxor et: 'Admittis' inquit 'muliebre consilium? Fac, quod medici solent, qui, ubi usitata remedia non procedunt, temptant contraria. Severitate nihil adhuc profecisti; Salvidienum Lepidus secutus est, Lepidum Murena, Murenam Caepio, Caepionem Egnatius, ut alios taceam, quos tantum ausos pudet. Nunc tempta, quomodo tibi cedat clementia; ignosce L. Cinnae. Deprensus est; iam nocere tibi non
7 potest, prodesse famae tuae potest.' Gavisus, sibi quod advocatum invenerat, uxori quidem gratias egit, renuntiari autem extemplo amicis, quos in consilium rogaverat,

imperavit et Cinnam unum ad se accersit dimissisque omnibus e cubiculo, cum alteram Cinnae poni cathedram iussisset: 'Hoc' inquit 'primum a te peto, ne me loquentem interpelles, ne medio sermone meo proclames; dabitur tibi loquendi liberum tempus. Ego 8 te, Cinna, cum in hostium castris invenissem, non factum tantum mihi inimicum sed natum, servavi, patrimonium tibi omne concessi. Hodie tam felix et tam dives es, ut victo victores invideant. Sacerdotium tibi petenti praeteritis compluribus, quorum parentes mecum militaverant, dedi; cum sic de te meruerim, occidere me constituisti.' Cum ad hanc vocem exclamasset procul hanc ab se 9 abesse dementiam: 'Non praestas' inquit 'fidem, Cinna; convenerat, ne interloquereris. Occidere, inquam, me paras'; adiecit locum, socios, diem, ordinem insidiarum, cui commissum esset ferrum. Et cum defixum videret 10 nec ex conventione iam, sed ex conscientia tacentem: 'Quo' inquit 'hoc animo facis? ut ipse sis princeps? male mehercules cum populo Romano agitur, si tibi ad imperandum nihil praeter me obstat. Domum tueri tuam non potes, nuper libertini hominis gratia in privato iudicio superatus es; adeo nihil facilius potes quam contra Caesarem advocare. Cedo, si spes tuas solus impedio, Paulusne te et Fabius Maximus et Cossi et Servilii ferent tantumque agmen nobilium non inania nomina praeferentium, sed eorum, qui imaginibus suis decori sint?' Ne totam eius orationem repetendo mag- 11 nam partem voluminis occupem (diutius enim quam duabus horis locutum esse constat, cum hanc poenam, qua sola erat contentus futurus, extenderet): 'Vitam' inquit 'tibi, Cinna, iterum do, prius hosti, nunc insidiatori ac parricidae. Ex hodierno die inter nos amicitia

incipiat; contendamus, utrum ego meliore fide tibi vitam
12 dederim an tu debeas.' Post hoc detulit ultro consulatum questus quod non auderet petere. Amicissimum fidelissimumque habuit, heres solus illi fuit. Nullis amplius insidiis ab ullo petitus est.

1 X. Ignovit abavus tuus victis; nam si non ignovisset, quibus imperasset? Sallustium et Cocceios et Deillios et totam cohortem primae admissionis ex adversariorum castris conscripsit; iam Domitios, Messalas, Asinios, Cicerones, quidquid floris erat in civitate, clementiae suae debebat. Ipsum Lepidum quam diu mori passus est! Per multos annos tulit ornamenta principis retinentem et pontificatum maximum non nisi mortuo illo transferri in se passus est; maluit enim illum honorem
2 vocari quam spolium. Haec eum clementia ad salutem securitatemque perduxit; haec gratum ac favorabilem reddidit, quamvis nondum subactis populi Romani cervicibus manum imposuisset; haec hodieque praestat illi
3 famam, quae vix vivis principibus servit. Deum esse non tamquam iussi credimus; bonum fuisse principem Augustum, bene illi parentis nomen convenisse fatemur ob nullam aliam causam, quam quod contumelias quoque suas, quae acerbiores principibus solent esse quam iniuriae, nulla crudelitate exsequebatur, quod probrosis in se dictis adrisit, quod dare illum poenas apparebat, cum exigeret, quod, quoscumque ob adulterium filiae suae damnaverat, adeo non occidit, ut dimissis, quo
4 tutiores essent, diplomata daret. Hoc est ignoscere, cum scias multos futuros, qui pro te irascantur et tibi sanguine alieno gratificentur, non dare tantum salutem, sed praestare.

1 XI. Haec Augustus senex aut iam in senectutem annis

vergentibus; in adulescentia caluit, arsit ira, multa fecit, ad quae invitus oculos retorquebat. Comparare nemo mansuetudini tuae audebit divum Augustum, etiam si in certamen iuvenilium annorum deduxerit senectutem plus quam maturam; fuerit moderatus et clemens, nempe post mare Actiacum Romano cruore infectum, nempe post fractas in Sicilia classes et suas et alienas, nempe post Perusinas aras et proscriptiones. Ego vero clementiam non voco lassam crudelitatem; 2
haec est, Caesar, clementia vera, quam tu praestas, quae non saevitiae paenitentia coepit, nullam habere maculam, numquam civilem sanguinem fudisse; haec est in maxima potestate verissima animi temperantia et humani generis comprendens ut sui amor non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate ingenii, non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum sibi in cives suos liceat, experiendo temptare, sed hebetare aciem imperii sui. Praestitisti, Caesar, civitatem incruentam, et hoc, 3
quod magno animo gloriatus es nullam te toto orbe stillam cruoris humani misisse, eo maius est mirabiliusque, quod nulli umquam citius gladius commissus est.

Clementia ergo non tantum honestiores sed tutiores 4
praestat ornamentumque imperiorum est simul et certissima salus. Quid enim est, cur reges consenuerint liberisque ac nepotibus tradiderint regna, tyrannorum exsecrabilis ac brevis potestas sit? Quid interest inter tyrannum ac regem (species enim ipsa fortunae ac licentia par est), nisi quod tyranni in voluptatem saeviunt, reges non nisi ex causa ac necessitate?

XII. 'Quid ergo? Non reges quoque occidere solent?' 1
Sed quotiens id fieri publica utilitas persuadet; tyrannis saevitia cordi est. Tyrannus autem a rege factis distat,

non nomine; nam et Dionysius maior iure meritoque praeferri multis regibus potest, et L. Sullam tyrannum appellari quid prohibet, cui occidendi finem fecit inopia
2 hostium? Descenderit licet e dictatura sua et se togae reddiderit, quis tamen umquam tyrannus tam avide humanum sanguinem bibit quam ille, qui septem milia civium Romanorum contrucidari iussit et, cum in vicino ad aedem Bellonae sedens exaudisset conclamationem tot milium sub gladio gementium, exterrito senatu: 'Hoc agamus' inquit, 'P. C.; seditiosi pauculi meo iussu occiduntur'? Hoc non est mentitus; pauci Sullae
3 videbantur. Sed mox de Sulla, cum quaeremus, quomodo hostibus irascendum sit, utique si in hostile nomen cives et ex eodem corpore abrupti transierint; interim, hoc quod dicebam, clementia efficit, ut magnum inter regem tyrannumque discrimen sit, uterque licet non minus armis valletur; sed alter arma habet, quibus in munimentum pacis utitur, alter, ut magno timore magna odia compescat, nec illas ipsas manus, quibus
4 se commisit, securus adspicit. Contrariis in contraria agitur; nam cum invisus sit, quia timetur, timeri vult, quia invisus est, et illo exsecrabili versu, qui multos praecipites dedit, utitur:

Oderint, dum metuant,

ignarus, quanta rabies oriatur, ubi supra modum odia creverunt. Temperatus enim timor cohibet animos, adsiduus vero et acer et extrema admovens in audaciam
5 iacentes excitat et omnia experiri suadet. Sic feras linea et pinnae clusas contineant, easdem a tergo eques telis incessat: temptabunt fugam per ipsa, quae fugerant, proculcabuntque formidinem. Acerrima virtus est,

quam ultima necessitas extundit. Relinquat oportet securi aliquid metus multoque plus spei quam periculorum ostentet; alioqui, ubi quiescenti paria metuuntur, incurrere in pericula iuvat et *ut* aliena anima abuti.

XIII. Placido tranquilloque regi fida sunt auxilia sua, 1
ut quibus ad communem salutem utatur, gloriosusque miles (publicae enim securitati se dare operam videt) omnem laborem libens patitur ut parentis custos; at illum acerbum et sanguinarium necesse est graventur stipatores sui. Non potest habere quisquam bonae ac 2
fidae voluntatis ministros, quibus in tormentis ut eculeo et ferramentis ad mortem paratis utitur, quibus non aliter quam bestiis homines obiectat, omnibus reis aerumnosior ac sollicitior, ut qui homines deosque testes facinorum ac vindices timeat, eo perductus, ut non liceat illi mutare mores. Hoc enim inter cetera vel pessimum habet crudelitas: perseverandum est nec ad meliora patet regressus; scelera enim sceleribus tuenda sunt. Quid autem eo infelicius, cui iam esse malo necesse est? O 3
miserabilem illum, sibi certe! nam ceteris misereri eius nefas sit, qui caedibus ac rapinis potentiam exercuit, qui suspecta sibi cuncta reddidit tam externa quam domestica, cum arma metuat, ad arma confugiens, non amicorum fidei credens, non pietati liberorum; qui, ubi circumspexit, quaeque fecit quaeque facturus est, et conscientiam suam plenam sceleribus ac tormentis adaperuit, saepe mortem timet, saepius optat, invisior sibi quam servientibus. E contrario is, cui curae sunt 4
universa, qui alia magis, alia minus tuetur, nullam non rei publicae partem tamquam sui nutrit, inclinatus ad mitiora, etiam, si ex usu est animadvertere, ostendens, quam invitus aspero remedio manus admoveat, in cuius

animo nihil hostile, nihil efferum est, qui potentiam suam placide ac salutariter exercet adprobare imperia sua civibus cupiens, felix abunde sibi visus, si fortunam suam publicarit, sermone adfabilis, aditu accessuque facilis, voltu, qui maxime populos demeretur, amabilis, aequis desideriis propensus, etiam iniquis *non* acerbus, a tota
5 civitate amatur, defenditur, colitur. Eadem de illo homines secreto loquuntur quae palam; tollere filios cupiunt et publicis malis sterilitas indicta recluditur; bene se meriturum de liberis suis quisque non dubitat, quibus tale saeculum ostenderit. Hic princeps suo beneficio tutus nihil praesidiis eget, arma ornamenti causa habet.
1 XIV. Quod ergo officium eius est? Quod bonorum parentium, qui obiurgare liberos non numquam blande, non numquam minaciter solent, aliquando admonere etiam verberibus. Numquid aliquis sanus filium a prima offensa exheredat? nisi magnae et multae iniuriae patientiam evicerunt, nisi plus est, quod timet, quam quod damnat, non accedit ad decretorium stilum; multa ante temptat, quibus dubiam indolem et peiore iam loco positam revocet; simul deploratum est, ultima experitur. Nemo ad supplicia exigenda pervenit, nisi
2 qui remedia consumpsit. Hoc, quod parenti, etiam principi faciendum est, quem appellavimus Patrem Patriae non adulatione vana adducti. Cetera enim cognomina honori data sunt; Magnos et Felices et Augustos diximus et ambitiosae maiestati quicquid potuimus titulorum congessimus illis hoc tribuentes; Patrem quidem Patriae appellavimus, ut sciret datam sibi potestatem patriam, quae est temperantissima liberis consulens
3 suaque post illos reponens. Tarde sibi pater membra sua abscidat, etiam, cum absciderit, reponere cupiat et in

abscidendo gemat cunctatus multum diuque; prope est enim, ut libenter damnet, qui cito; prope est, ut inique puniat, qui nimis.

XV. Trichonem equitem Romanum memoria nostra, 1
quia filium suum flagellis occiderat, populus graphiis in foro confodit; vix illum Augusti Caesaris auctoritas infestis tam patrum quam filiorum manibus eripuit. Tarium, qui filium deprensum in parricidii consilio 2
damnavit causa cognita, nemo non suspexit, quod contentus exsilio et exsilio delicato Massiliae parricidam continuit et annua illi praestitit, quanta praestare integro solebat; haec liberalitas effecit, ut, in qua civitate numquam deest patronus peioribus, nemo dubitaret, quin reus merito damnatus esset, quem is pater damnare potuisset, qui odisse non poterat. Hoc ipso 3
exemplo dabo, quem compares bono patri, bonum principem. Cogniturus de filio Tarius advocavit in consilium Caesarem Augustum; venit in privatos penates, adsedit, pars alieni consilii fuit, non dixit: 'Immo in meam domum veniat'; quod si factum esset, Caesaris futura erat cognitio, non patris. Audita causa ex- 4
cussisque omnibus, et his, quae adulescens pro se dixerat, et his, quibus arguebatur, petit, ut sententiam suam quisque scriberet, ne ea omnium fieret, quae Caesaris fuisset; deinde, priusquam aperirentur codicilli, iuravit se Tarii, hominis locupletis, hereditatem non aditurum. Dicet aliquis: 'Pusillo animo timuit, ne 5
videretur locum spei suae aperire velle filii damnatione.' Ego contra sentio; quilibet nostrum debuisset adversus opiniones malignas satis fiduciae habere in bona conscientia, principes multa debent etiam famae dare. Iuravit se non aditurum hereditatem. Tarius quidem 6

eodem die et alterum heredem perdidit, sed Caesar libertatem sententiae suae redemit; et postquam adprobavit gratuitam esse severitatem suam, quod principi semper curandum est, dixit relegandum, quo patri
7 videretur. Non culleum, non serpentes, non carcerem decrevit memor non de quo censeret, sed cui in consilio esset; mollissimo genere poenae contentum esse debere patrem dixit in filio adulescentulo impulso in id scelus, in quo se, quod proximum erat ab innocentia, timide gessisset; debere illum ab urbe et a parentis oculis submoveri.

1 XVI. O dignum, quem in consilium patres advocarent! O dignum, quem coheredem innocentibus liberis scriberent! Haec clementia principem decet; quocumque venerit, mansuetiora omnia faciat. Nemo regi tam vilis sit, ut illum perire non sentiat; qualiscumque
2 pars imperii est. In magna imperia ex minoribus petamus exemplum. Non unum est imperandi genus; imperat princeps civibus suis, pater liberis, praeceptor
3 discentibus, tribunus vel centurio militibus. Nonne pessimus pater videbitur, qui adsiduis plagis liberos etiam ex levissimis causis compescet? Uter autem praeceptor liberalibus studiis dignior, qui excarnificabit discipulos, si memoria illis non constiterit aut si parum agilis in legendo oculus haeserit, an qui monitionibus et verecundia emendare ac docere malit? Tribunum centurionemque da saevum: desertores faciet, quibus
4 tamen ignoscitur. Numquidnam aequum est gravius homini et durius imperari, quam imperatur animalibus mutis? Atqui equum non crebris verberibus exterret domandi peritus magister; fiet enim formidolosus et
5 contumax, nisi eum blandiente tactu permulseris. Idem

facit ille venator, quique instituit catulos vestigia sequi quique iam exercitatis utitur ad excitandas vel persequendas feras: nec crebro illis minatur (contundet enim animos et, quicquid est indolis, comminuetur trepidatione degeneri) nec licentiam vagandi errandique passim concedit. Adicias his licet tardiora agentes iumenta, quae, cum ad contumeliam et miserias nata sint, nimia saevitia cogantur iugum detractare.

XVII. Nullum animal morosius est, nullum maiore arte 1
tractandum quam homo, nulli magis parcendum. Quid enim est stultius quam in iumentis quidem et canibus erubescere iras exercere, pessima autem condicione sub *homine* hominem esse? Morbis medemur nec irascimur; atqui et hic morbus est animi; mollem medicinam desiderat ipsumque medentem minime infestum aegro. Mali medici est desperare, ne curet: idem in iis, quo- 2
rum animus adfectus est, facere debebit is, cui tradita salus omnium est, non cito spem proicere nec mortifera signa pronuntiare; luctetur cum vitiis, resistat, aliis morbum suum exprobret, quosdam molli curatione decipiat citius meliusque sanaturus remediis fallentibus; agat princeps curam non tantum salutis, sed etiam honestae cicatricis. Nulla regi gloria est ex saeva ani- 3
madversione (quis enim dubitat posse?), at contra maxima, si vim suam continet, si multos irae alienae eripuit, neminem suae impendit.

XVIII. Servis imperare moderate laus est. Et in man- 1
cipio cogitandum est, non quantum illud impune possit pati, sed quantum tibi permittat aequi bonique natura, quae parcere etiam captivis et pretio paratis iubet. Quanto iustius iubet hominibus liberis, ingenuis, honestis non ut mancipiis abuti sed ut his, quos gradu

antecedas quorumque tibi non servitus tradita sit, sed
2 tutela. Servis ad statuam licet confugere; cum in servum omnia liceant, est aliquid, quod in hominem licere commune ius animantium vetet. Quis non Vedium Pollionem peius oderat quam servi sui, quod muraenas sanguine humano saginabat et eos, qui se aliquid offenderant, in vivarium, quid aliud quam serpentium, abici iubebat? O hominem mille mortibus dignum, sive devorandos servos obiciebat muraenis, quas esurus erat,
3 sive in hoc tantum illas alebat, ut sic aleret. Quemadmodum domini crudeles tota civitate commonstrantur invisique et detestabiles sunt, ita regum et iniuria latius patet et infamia atque odium saeculis traditur; quanto autem non nasci melius fuit, quam numerari inter publico malo natos!

1 XIX. Excogitare nemo quicquam poterit, quod magis decorum regenti sit quam clementia, quocumque modo is et quocumque iure praepositus ceteris erit. Eo scilicet formosius id esse magnificentiusque fatebimur, quo in maiore praestabitur potestate, quam non oportet noxiam
2 esse, si ad naturae legem componitur. Natura enim commenta est regem, quod et ex aliis animalibus licet cognoscere et ex apibus; quarum regi amplissimum cubile est medioque ac tutissimo loco; praeterea opere vacat exactor alienorum operum, et amisso rege totum dilabitur, nec umquam plus unum patiuntur meliorem-que pugna quaerunt; praeterea insignis regi forma est
3 dissimilisque ceteris cum magnitudine tum nitore. Hoc tamen maxime distinguitur: iracundissimae ac pro corporis captu pugnacissimae sunt apes et aculeos in volnere relinquunt, rex ipse sine aculeo est; noluit illum natura nec saevum esse nec ultionem magno constaturam petere

telumque detraxit et iram eius inermem reliquit. Exemplar hoc magnis regibus ingessit; est enim illi mos exercere se in parvis et ingentium rerum documenta in minima arguere. Pudeat ab exiguis animalibus non 4
trahere mores, cum tanto hominum moderatior esse animus debeat, quanto vehementius nocet. Utinam quidem eadem homini lex esset et ira cum telo suo frangeretur nec saepius liceret nocere quam semel nec alienis viribus exercere odia! Facile enim lassaretur furor, si per se sibi satis faceret et si mortis periculo vim suam effunderet. Sed ne nunc quidem illi cursus tutus est; 5
tantum enim necesse est timeat, quantum timeri voluit, et manus omnium observet et eo quoque tempore, quo non captatur, peti se iudicet nullumque momentum immune a metu habeat. Hanc aliquis agere vitam sustinet, cum liceat innoxium aliis, ob hoc securum, salutare potentiae ius laetis omnibus tractare? Errat enim, si quis existimat tutum esse ibi regem, ubi nihil a rege tutum est; securitas securitate mutua paciscenda est. Non opus est instruere in altum editas arces nec in ad- 6
scensum arduos colles emunire nec latera montium abscidere, multiplicibus se muris turribusque saepire: salvum regem clementia in aperto praestabit. Unum est inexpugnabile munimentum amor civium. Quid 7
pulchrius est quam vivere optantibus cunctis et vota non sub custode nuncupantibus? Si paulum valetudo titubavit, non spem hominum excitari, sed metum? Nihil esse cuiquam tam pretiosum, quod non pro salute praesidis sui commutatum velit? Nonne ille, cui contingit, 8
sibi quoque vivere debeat? In hoc adsiduis bonitatis argumentis probavit non rem publicam suam esse, sed se rei publicae. Quis huic audeat struere aliquod pericu-

lum? Quis ab hoc non, si possit, fortunam quoque avertere velit, sub quo iustitia, pax, pudicitia, securitas, dignitas florent, sub quo opulenta civitas copia bonorum omnium abundat? Nec alio animo rectorem suum intuetur, quam, si di immortales potestatem visendi sui faciant, intueamur
9 venerantes colentesque. Quid autem? Non proximum illis locum tenet is, qui se ex deorum natura gerit, beneficus ac largus et in melius potens? Hoc adfectare, hoc imitari decet, maximum ita haberi, ut optimus simul habeare.

1 XX. A duabus causis punire princeps solet, si aut se vindicat aut alium. Prius de ea parte disseram, quae ipsum contingit; difficilius est enim moderari, ubi dolori
2 debetur ultio, quam ubi exemplo. Supervacuum est hoc loco admonere, ne facile credat, ut verum excutiat, ut innocentiae faveat et, ut appareat, non minorem agi rem periclitantis quam iudicis sciat; hoc enim ad iustitiam, non ad clementiam pertinet; nunc illum hortamur, ut manifeste laesus animum in potestate habeat et poenam, si tuto poterit, donet, si minus, temperet longe-
3 que sit in suis quam in alienis iniuriis exorabilior. Nam quemadmodum non est magni animi, qui de alieno liberalis est, sed ille, qui, quod alteri donat, sibi detrahit, ita clementem vocabo non in alieno dolore facilem, sed eum, qui, cum suis stimulis exagitetur, non prosilit, qui intellegit magni animi esse iniurias in summa potentia pati nec quicquam esse gloriosius principe impune laeso.

1 XXI. Ultio duas praestare res solet: aut solacium adfert ei, qui accepit iniuriam, aut in reliquum securitatem. Principis maior est fortuna, quam ut solacio egeat, manifestiorque vis, quam ut alieno malo opinionem sibi virium quaerat. Hoc dico, cum ab inferioribus

petitus violatusque est; nam si, quos pares aliquando habuit, infra se videt, satis vindicatus est. Regem et servus occidit et serpens et sagitta; servavit quidem nemo nisi maior eo, quem servabat. Uti itaque animose 2
debet tanto munere deorum dandi auferendique vitam potens. In iis praesertim, quos scit aliquando sibi *par* fastigium obtinuisse, hoc arbitrium adeptus ultionem implevit perfecitque, quantum verae poenae satis erat; perdidit enim vitam, qui debet, et, quisquis ex alto ad inimici pedes abiectus alienam de capite regnoque sententiam exspectavit, in servatoris sui gloriam vivit plusque eius nomini confert incolumis, quam si ex oculis ablatus esset. Adsiduum enim spectaculum alienae virtutis est; in triumpho cito transisset. Si vero regnum quoque 3
suum tuto relinqui apud eum potuit reponique eo, unde deciderat, ingenti incremento surgit laus eius, qui contentus fuit ex rege victo nihil praeter gloriam sumere. Hoc est etiam ex victoria sua triumphare testarique nihil se, quod dignum esset victore, apud victos invenisse. Cum civibus et ignotis atque humilibus eo moderatius 4
agendum est, quo minoris est adflixisse eos. Quibusdam libenter parcas, a quibusdam te vindicare fastidias et non aliter quam *ab* animalibus parvis sed obterentem inquinantibus reducenda manus est; at in iis, qui in ore civitatis servati punitique erunt, occasione notae clementiae utendum est.

XXII. Transeamus ad alienas iniurias, in quibus vindi- 1
candis haec tria lex secuta est, quae princeps quoque sequi debet: aut ut eum, quem punit, emendet, aut *ut* poena eius ceteros meliores reddat, aut ut sublatis malis securiores ceteri vivant. Ipsos facilius emendabis minore poena; diligentius enim vivit, cui aliquid integri

superest. Nemo dignitati perditae parcit; impunitatis
2 genus est iam non habere poenae locum. Civitatis autem mores magis corrigit parcitas animadversionum; facit enim consuetudinem peccandi multitudo peccantium, et minus gravis nota est, quam turba damnationum levat, et severitas, quod maximum remedium habet,
3 adsiduitate amittit auctoritatem. Constituit bonos mores civitati princeps et vitia eluit, si patiens eorum est, non tamquam probet, sed tamquam invitus et cum magno tormento ad castigandum veniat. Verecundiam peccandi facit ipsa clementia regentis; gravior multo poena videtur, quae a miti viro constituitur.

1 XXIII. Praeterea videbis ea saepe committi, quae saepe vindicantur. Pater tuus plures intra quinquennium culleo insuit, quam omnibus saeculis insutos accepimus. Multo minus audebant liberi nefas ultimum admittere, quam diu sine lege crimen fuit. Summa enim prudentia altissimi viri et rerum naturae peritissimi maluerunt velut incredibile scelus et ultra audaciam positum praeterire quam, dum vindicant, ostendere posse fieri; itaque parricidae cum lege coeperunt, et illis facinus poena monstravit; pessimo vero loco pietas fuit, postquam saepius culleos
2 vidimus quam cruces. In qua civitate raro homines puniuntur, in ea consensus fit innocentiae et indulgetur velut publico bono. Putet se innocentem esse civitas, erit; magis irascetur a communi frugalitate desciscentibus, si paucos esse eos viderit. Periculosum est, mihi crede, ostendere civitati, quanto plures mali sint.

1 XXIV. Dicta est aliquando in senatu sententia, ut servos a liberis cultus distingueret; deinde apparuit, quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos coepissent. Idem scito metuendum esse, si nulli igno-

scitur; cito apparebit, pars civitatis deterior quanto praegravet. Non minus principi turpia sunt multa supplicia quam medico multa funera; remissius imperanti melius paretur. Natura contumax est humanus 2
animus et in contrarium atque arduum nitens sequiturque facilius quam ducitur; et ut generosi ac nobiles equi melius facili freno reguntur, ita clementiam voluntaria innocentia impetu suo sequitur, et dignam putat civitas, quam servet sibi. Plus itaque hac via proficitur.

XXV. Crudelitas minime humanum malum est in- 1
dignumque tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere ac volneribus et abiecto homine in silvestre animal transire. Quid enim interest, oro te, Alexander, leoni Lysimachum obicias an ipse laceres dentibus tuis? Tuum illud os est, tua illa feritas. O quam cuperes tibi potius ungues esse, tibi rictum illum edendorum hominum capacem! Non exigimus a te, ut manus ista, exitium familiarium certissimum, ulli salutaris sit, ut iste animus ferox, insatiabile gentium malum, citra sanguinem caedemque satietur; clementia iam vocatur, ad occidendum amicum *cum* carnifex inter homines eligitur. Hoc est, 2
quare vel maxime abominanda sit saevitia, quod excedit fines primum solitos, deinde humanos, nova supplicia conquirit, ingenium advocat, *ut* instrumenta excogitet, per quae varietur atque extendatur dolor, delectatur malis hominum; tunc illi dirus animi morbus ad insaniam pervenit ultimam, cum crudelitas versa est in voluptatem et iam occidere hominem iuvat. Matura talem virum 3
a tergo sequitur aversio, odia, venena, gladii; tam multis periculis petitur, quam multorum ipse periculum est, privatisque non numquam consiliis, alias vero consternatione publica circumvenitur. Levis enim et privata

pernicies non totas urbes movet; quod late furere coepit
4 et omnes adpetit, undique configitur. Serpentes parvolae fallunt nec publice conquiruntur; ubi aliqua solitam mensuram transit et in monstrum excrevit, ubi fontes sputu inficit et, si adflavit, deurit obteritque, quacumque incessit, ballistis petitur. Possunt verba dare et evadere
5 pusilla mala, ingentibus obviam itur. Sic unus aeger ne domum quidem perturbat; at ubi crebris mortibus pestilentiam esse apparuit, conclamatio civitatis ac fuga est, et dis ipsis manus intentantur. Sub uno aliquo tecto flamma apparuit: familia vicinique aquam ingerunt; at incendium vastum et multas iam domos depastum parte urbis obruitur.

1 XXVI. Crudelitatem privatorum quoque serviles manus sub certo crucis periculo ultae sunt; tyrannorum gentes populique et, quorum erat malum, et ei, quibus imminebat, exscindere adgressi sunt. Aliquando sua praesidia in ipsos consurrexerunt perfidiamque et impietatem et feritatem et, quidquid ab illis didicerant, in ipsos exercuerunt. Quid enim potest quisquam ab eo sperare, quem malum esse docuit? Non diu nequitia
2 apparet nec, quantum iubetur, peccat. Sed puta esse tutam crudelitatem, quale eius regnum est? Non aliud quam captarum urbium forma et terribiles facies publici metus. Omnia maesta, trepida, confusa; voluptates ipsae timentur; non convivia securi ineunt, in quibus lingua sollicite etiam ebriis custodienda est, non spectacula, ex quibus materia criminis ac periculi quaeritur. Apparentur licet magna impensa et regiis opibus et artificum exquisitis nominibus, quem tamen ludi in carcere iuvent?
3 Quod istud, di boni, malum est occidere, saevire, delectari sono catenarum et civium capita decidere, quocumque

ventum est, multum sanguinis fundere, adspectu suo terrere ac fugare! Quae alia vita esset, si leones ursique regnarent, si serpentibus in nos ac noxiosissimo cuique animali daretur potestas? Illa rationis expertia et a 4
nobis immanitatis crimine damnata abstinent suis, et tuta est etiam inter feras similitudo: horum ne a necessariis quidem sibi rabies temperat, sed externa suaque in aequo habet, quo plus se exercitat, *eo incitatior*. A singulorum deinde caedibus in exitia gentium serpit et inicere tectis ignem, aratrum vetustis urbibus inducere potentiam putat; et unum occidi iubere aut alterum parum imperatorium credit; nisi eodem tempore grex miserorum sub ictu stetit, crudelitatem suam in ordinem coactam putat. Felicitas illa multis salutem dare et ad 5
vitam ab ipsa morte revocare et mereri clementia civicam. Nullum ornamentum principis fastigio dignius pulchriusque est quam illa corona ob cives servatos, non hostilia arma detracta victis, non currus barbarorum sanguine cruenti, non parta bello spolia. Haec divina potentia est gregatim ac publice servare; multos quidem occidere et indiscretos incendi ac ruinae potentia est.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD NERONEM CAESAREM

DE CLEMENTIA

Liber II

1 I. Ut de clementia scriberem, Nero Caesar, una me vox tua maxime compulit, quam ego non sine admiratione et, cum diceretur, audisse memini et deinde aliis narrasse, vocem generosam, magni animi, magnae lenitatis, quae non composita nec alienis auribus data subito erupit et bonitatem tuam cum fortuna tua litigantem in medium 2 adduxit. Animadversurus in latrones duos Burrus praefectus tuus, vir egregius et tibi principi natus, exigebat a te, scriberes, in quos et ex qua causa animadverti velles; hoc saepe dilatum ut aliquando fieret, instabat. Invitus invito cum chartam protulisset traderetque, exclamasti: 3 'Vellem litteras nescirem!' O dignam vocem, quam audirent omnes gentes, quae Romanum imperium incolunt quaeque iuxta iacent dubiae libertatis quaeque se contra viribus aut animis attollunt! O vocem in contionem omnium mortalium mittendam, in cuius verba principes regesque iurarent! O vocem publica generis humani innocentia dignam, cui redderetur antiquum 4 illud saeculum! Nunc profecto consentire decebat ad aequum bonumque expulsa alieni cupidine, ex qua omne animi malum oritur, pietatem integritatemque cum fide

ac modestia resurgere et vitia diuturno abusa regno dare tandem felici ac puro saeculo locum.

II. Futurum hoc, Caesar, ex magna parte sperare et 1
confidere libet. Tradetur ista animi tui mansuetudo diffundeturque paulatim per omne imperii corpus, et cuncta in similitudinem tuam formabuntur. A capite bona valetudo in omnes corporis partes exit; omnia vegeta sunt atque erecta aut languore demissa, prout animus eorum vivit aut marcet. Erunt cives, erunt socii digni hac bonitate, et in totum orbem recti mores revertentur; parcetur ubique manibus tuis. Diutius 2
me morari hic patere, non ut blandum auribus tuis (nec enim hic mihi mos est; maluerim veris offendere quam placere adulando); quid ergo est? Praeter id, quod bene factis dictisque tuis quam familiarissimum esse te cupio, ut, quod nunc natura et impetus est, fiat iudicium, illud mecum considero multas voces magnas, sed detestabiles, in vitam humanam pervenisse celebresque volgo ferri, ut illam: 'oderint, dum metuant,' cui Graecus versus similis est, qui se mortuo terram misceri ignibus iubet, et alia huius notae. Ac nescio quomodo ingenia *in* immani et 3
invisa materia secundiore *ore* expresserunt sensus vehementes et concitatos; nullam adhuc vocem audii ex bono lenique animosam. Quid ergo est? Ut raro, invitus et cum magna cunctatione, ita aliquando scribas necesse est istud, quod tibi in odium litteras adduxit, sed, sicut facis, cum magna cunctatione, cum multis dilationibus.

III. Et ne forte decipiat nos speciosum clementiae 1
nomen aliquando et in contrarium abducat, videamus, quid sit clementia qualisque sit et quos fines habeat.

Clementia est temperantia animi in potestate ulciscendi vel lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem in constituendis

poenis. Plura proponere tutius est, ne una finitio parum rem comprehendat et, ut ita dicam, formula excidat; itaque dici potest et inclinatio animi ad lenitatem in
2 poena exigenda. Illa finitio contradictiones inveniet, quamvis maxime ad verum accedat, si dixerimus clementiam esse moderationem aliquid ex merita ac debita poena remittentem: reclamabitur nullam virtutem cuiquam minus debito facere. Atqui hoc omnes intellegunt clementiam esse, quae se flectit citra id, quod merito constitui posset.

1 IV. Huic contrariam imperiti putant severitatem; sed nulla virtus virtuti contraria est. Quid ergo opponitur clementiae? Crudelitas, quae nihil aliud est quam atrocitas animi in exigendis poenis. 'Sed quidam non exigunt poenas, crudeles tamen sunt, tamquam qui ignotos homines et obvios non in compendium, sed occidendi causa occidunt nec interficere contenti saeviunt, ut Busiris ille et Procrustes et piratae, qui captos ver-
2 berant et in ignem vivos imponunt.' Haec crudelitas quidem; sed quia nec ultionem sequitur (non enim laesa est) nec peccato alicui irascitur (nullum enim antecessit crimen), extra finitionem nostram cadit; finitio enim continebat in poenis exigendis intemperantiam animi. Possumus dicere non esse hanc crudelitatem, sed feritatem, cui voluptati saevitia est; possumus insaniam vocare: nam varia sunt genera eius et nullum certius, quam quod
3 in caedes hominum et lancinationes pervenit. Illos ergo crudeles vocabo, qui puniendi causam habent, modum non habent, sicut in Phalari, quem aiunt non quidem in homines innocentes, sed super humanum ac probabilem modum saevisse. Possumus effugere cavillationem et ita finire, ut sit crudelitas inclinatio animi ad asperiora.

Hanc clementia repellit longe iussam stare a se; cum severitate illi convenit.

Ad rem pertinet quaerere hoc loco, quid sit misericordia; 4
plerique enim ut virtutem eam laudant et bonum hominem vocant misericordem. Et haec vitium animi est. Utraque circa severitatem circaque clementiam posita sunt, quae vitare debemus; *per speciem enim severitatis in crudelitatem incidimus*, per speciem clementiae in misericordiam. In hoc leviore periculo erratur, sed par error est a vero recedentium.

V. Ergo quemadmodum religio deos colit, superstitio 1
violat, ita clementiam mansuetudinemque omnes boni viri praestabunt, misericordiam autem vitabunt; est enim vitium pusilli animi ad speciem alienorum *malorum* succidentis. Itaque pessimo cuique familiarissima est; anus et mulierculae sunt, quae lacrimis nocentissimorum moventur, quae, si liceret, carcerem effringerent. Misericordia non causam, sed fortunam spectat; clementia rationi accedit. Scio male audire apud imperitos sectam Stoicorum 2
tamquam duram nimis et minime principibus regibusque bonum daturam consilium; obicitur illi, quod sapientem negat misereri, negat ignoscere. Haec, si per se ponantur, invisa sunt; videntur enim nullam relinquere spem humanis erroribus, sed omnia delicta ad poenam deducere. Quod si est quidnam haec scientia, quae dediscere human- 3
itatem iubet portumque adversus fortunam certissimum mutuo auxilio cludit? Sed nulla secta benignior leniorque est, nulla amantior hominum et communis boni attentior, ut propositum sit usui esse et auxilio nec sibi tantum, sed universis singulisque consulere. Misericordia est aegri- 4
tudo animi ob alienarum miseriarum speciem aut tristitia ex alienis malis contracta, quae accidere immerentibus

credit; aegritudo autem in sapientem virum non cadit; serena eius mens est, nec quicquam incidere potest, quod illam obducat. Nihilque aeque hominem quam magnus animus decet; non potest autem magnus esse idem ac
5 maestus. Maeror contundit mentes, abicit, contrahit; hoc sapienti ne in suis quidem accidet calamitatibus, sed omnem fortunae iram reverberabit et ante se franget; eandem semper faciem servabit, placidam, inconcussam, quod facere non posset, si tristitiam reciperet.

1 VI. Adice, quod sapiens et providet et in expedito consilium habet; numquam autem liquidum sincerumque ex turbido venit. Tristitia inhabilis est ad dispiciendas res, utilia excogitanda, periculosa vitanda, aequa aestimanda; ergo non miseretur, quia id sine miseria animi
2 non fit. Cetera omnia, quae, qui miserentur, solent facere, libens et altus animo faciet; succurret alienis lacrimis, non accedet; dabit manum naufrago, exsuli hospitium, egenti stipem, non hanc contumeliosam, quam pars maior horum, qui misericordes videri volunt, abicit et fastidit, quos adiuvat, contingique ab iis timet, sed ut homo homini ex communi dabit; donabit lacrimis maternis filium et catenas solvi iubebit et ludo eximet et cadaver etiam noxium sepeliet, sed faciet ista tranquilla mente,
3 voltu suo. Ergo non miserebitur sapiens, sed succurret, sed proderit, in commune auxilium natus ac bonum publicum, ex quo dabit cuique partem. Etiam ad calamitosos pro portione improbandosque et emendandos bonitatem suam permittet; adflictis vero et forte laborantibus multo libentius subveniet. Quotiens poterit, fortunae intercedet; ubi enim opibus potius utetur aut viribus, quam ad restituenda, quae casus impulit? Voltum quidem non deiciet nec animum ob eius alicuius aridum aut pan-

nosam maciem et innixam baculo senectutem; ceterum
omnibus dignis proderit et deorum more calamitosos
propitius respiciet. Misericordia vicina est miseriae; 4
habet enim aliquid trahitque ex ea. Imbecillos oculos
esse scias, qui ad alienam lippitudinem et ipsi subfun-
duntur, tam mehercules quam morbum esse, non hilarita-
tem, semper adridere ridentibus et ad omnium oscita-
tionem ipsum quoque os diducere; misericordia vitium
est animorum nimis miseria paventium, quam si quis a
sapiente exigit, prope est, ut lamentationem exigat et
in alienis funeribus gemitus.

VII. 'At quare non ignoscet?' Agedum constituamus 1
nunc quoque, quid sit venia, et sciemus dari illam a
sapiente non debere. Venia est poenae meritae remissio.
Hanc sapiens quare non debeat dare, reddunt rationem
diutius, quibus hoc propositum est; ego ut breviter
tamquam in alieno iudicio dicam: Ei ignoscitur, qui
puniri debuit; sapiens autem nihil facit, quod non debet,
nihil praetermittit, quod debet; itaque poenam, quam
exigere debet, non donat. Sed illud, quod ex venia con- 2
sequi vis, honestiore tibi via tribuet; parcet enim sapiens,
consulet et corriget; idem faciet, quod, si ignosceret,
nec ignoscet, quoniam, qui ignoscit, fatetur aliquid se,
quod fieri debuit, omisisse. Aliquem verbis tantum
admonebit, poena non adficiet aetatem eius emendabilem
intuens; aliquem invidia criminis manifeste laborantem
iubebit incolumem esse, quia deceptus est, quia per vinum
lapsus; hostes dimittet salvos, aliquando etiam laudatos,
si honestis causis pro fide, pro foedere, pro libertate in
bellum acciti sunt. Haec omnia non veniae, sed cle- 3
mentiae opera sunt. Clementia liberum arbitrium habet;
non sub formula, sed ex aequo et bono iudicat; et ab-

solvere illi licet et, quanti vult, taxare litem. Nihil ex his facit, tamquam iusto minus fecerit, sed tamquam id, quod constituit, iustissimum sit. Ignoscere autem est, quem iudices puniendum, non punire; venia debitae poenae remissio est. Clementia hoc primum praestat, ut, quos dimittit, nihil aliud illos pati debuisse pronuntiet;
4 plenior est quam venia, honestior est. De verbo, ut mea fert opinio, controversia est, de re quidem convenit. Sapiens multa remittet, multos parum sani, sed sanabilis ingenii servabit. Agricolas bonos imitabitur, qui non tantum rectas procerasque arbores colunt; illis quoque, quas aliqua depravavit causa, adminicula, quibus derigantur, adplicant; alias circumcidunt, ne proceritatem rami premant, quasdam infirmas vitio loci nutriunt, quibusdam aliena umbra laborantibus caelum aperiunt.
5 Videbit, quod ingenium qua ratione tractandum sit, quo modo in rectum prava flectantur.***

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD LUCILIUM

EPISTULAE MORALES SELECTAE

EPISTULA VII

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM

Quid tibi vitandum praecipue existimem, quaeris? 1
Turbam. Nondum illi tuto committeris. Ego certe confitebor imbecillitatem meam: numquam mores, quos extuli, refero. Aliquid ex eo, quod composui, turbatur; aliquid ex iis, quae fugavi, redit. Quod aegris evenit, quos longa imbecillitas usque eo adfecit, ut nusquam sine offensa proferantur, hoc accidit nobis, quorum animi ex longo morbo reficiuntur. Inimica est multorum 2
conversatio: nemo non aliquod nobis vitium aut commendat aut imprimit aut nescientibus adlinit. Utique quo maior est populus, cui miscemur, hoc periculi plus est. Nihil vero tam damnosum bonis moribus quam in aliquo spectaculo desidere. Tunc enim per voluptatem facilius vitia subrepunt. Quid me existimas dicere? Avarior 3
redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior, immo vero crudelior et inhumanior, quia inter homines fui. Casu in meridianum spectaculum incidi lusus expectans et sales et aliquid laxamenti, quo hominum oculi ab humano cruore adquiescant: contra est. Quicquid ante pugnatum est, misericordia fuit. Nunc omissis nugis mera homicidia sunt. Nihil habent quo tegantur, ad ictum totis corporibus expositi numquam frustra manum mittunt. Hoc 4

plerique ordinariis paribus et postulaticiis praeferunt. Quidni praeferant? Non galea, non scuto repellitur ferrum. Quo munimenta? Quo artes? Omnia ista mortis morae sunt. Mane leonibus et ursis homines, meridie spectatoribus suis obiciuntur. Interfectores interfecturis iubent obici et victorem in aliam detinent caedem: exitus pug-
5 nantium mors est. Ferro et igne res geritur. Haec fiunt, dum vacat harena. 'Sed latrocinium fecit aliquis, occidit hominem.' Quid ergo? Quia occidit ille, meruit ut hoc pateretur: tu quid meruisti miser, ut hoc spectes? 'Occide, verbera, ure! Quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum? Quare parum audacter occidit? Quare parum libenter moritur?' Plagis agitur in vulnera: 'mutuos ictus nudis et obviis pectoribus excipiant.' Intermissum est spectaculum: 'interim iugulentur homines, ne nihil agatur.' Age, ne hoc quidem intellegitis, mala exempla in eos redundare, qui faciunt? Agite dis immortalibus gratias, quod eum docetis esse crudelem, qui non potest discere.
6 Subducendus populo est tener animus et parum tenax recti: facile transitur ad plures. Socrati et Catoni et Laelio excutere morem suum dissimilis multitudo potuisset: adeo nemo nostrum, qui cum maxime concinnamus ingenium, ferre impetum vitiorum tam magno comitatu
7 venientium potest. Unum exemplum luxuriae aut avaritiae multum mali facit: convictor delicatus paulatim enervat et emollit, vicinus dives cupiditatem inritat, malignus comes quamvis candido et simplici rubiginem suam adfricuit: quid tu accidere his moribus credis, in quos publice factus est impetus? Necesse est aut imiteris
8 aut oderis. Utrumque autem devitandum est: neve similis malis fias, quia multi sunt, neve inimicus multis, quia dissimiles sunt. Recede in te ipsum, quantum potes.

Cum his versare, qui te meliorem facturi sunt. Illos admitte, quos tu potes facere meliores. Mutuo ista fiunt, et homines, dum docent, discunt. Non est quod te gloria 9
publicandi ingenii producat in medium, ut recitare istis velis aut disputare, quod facere te vellem, si haberes isti populo idoneam mercem: nemo est, qui intellegere te possit. Aliquis fortasse, unus aut alter incidet, et hic ipse formandus tibi erit instituendusque ad intellectum tui. 'Cui ergo ista didici?' Non est quod timeas, ne operam perdideris, si tibi didicisti.

Sed ne soli mihi hodie didicerim, communicabo tecum, 10
quae occurrerunt mihi egregie dicta circa eundem fere sensum tria; ex quibus unum haec epistula in debitum solvet, duo in antecessum accipe. Democritus ait: 'unus mihi pro populo est, et populus pro uno.' Bene et ille, 11
quisquis fuit, ambigitur enim de auctore, cum quaereretur ab illo, quo tanta diligentia artis spectaret ad paucissimos perventurae, 'satis sunt' inquit 'mihi pauci, satis est unus, satis est nullus.' Egregie hoc tertium Epicurus, cum uni ex consortibus studiorum suorum scriberet: 'haec' inquit 'ego non multis, sed tibi: satis enim magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus.' Ista, mi Lucili, condenda in 12
animum sunt, ut contemnas voluptatem ex plurium adsensione venientem. Multi te laudant. Et quid habes, cur placeas tibi, si is es, quem intellegant multi? Introrsus bona tua spectent. Vale.

EPISTULA VIII

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

'Tu me' inquis 'vitare turbam iubes, secedere et con- 1
scientia esse contentum? Ubi illa praecepta vestra, quae

imperant in actu mori?' Quod ego tibi videor interim suadere, in hoc me recondidi et fores clusi, ut prodesse pluribus possem. Nullus mihi per otium dies exit. Partem noctium studiis vindico. Non vaco somno, sed succumbo et oculos vigilia fatigatos cadentesque in opere
2 detineo. Secessi non tantum ab hominibus, sed a rebus, et imprimis a meis rebus: posterorum negotium ago. Illis aliqua, quae possint prodesse, conscribo. Salutares admonitiones, velut medicamentorum utilium compositiones, litteris mando, esse illas efficaces in meis ulceribus expertus, quae etiam si persanata non sunt, serpere
3 desierunt. Rectum iter, quod sero cognovi et lassus errando, aliis monstro. Clamo: 'vitate quaecumque vulgo placent, quae casus attribuit. Ad omne fortuitum bonum suspiciosi pavidique subsistite: et fera et piscis spe aliqua oblectante decipitur. Munera ista fortunae putatis? Insidiae sunt. Quisquis vestrum tutam agere vitam volet, quantum plurimum potest, ista viscata beneficia devitet, in quibus hoc quoque miserrimi fallimur:
4 habere nos putamus, haeremus. In praecipitia cursus iste deducit. Huius eminentis vitae exitus cadere est. Deinde ne resistere quidem licet, cum coepit transversos agere felicitas; aut saltim rectis aut semel ruere: non
5 vertit Fortuna, sed cernulat et allidit. Hanc ergo sanam ac salubrem formam vitae tenete, ut corpori tantum indulgeatis, quantum bonae valitudini satis est. Durius tractandum est, ne animo male pareat: cibus famem sedet, potio sitim extinguat, vestis arceat frigus, domus munimentum sit adversus infesta corporis. Hanc utrum caespes erexerit an varius lapis gentis alienae, nihil interest: scitote tam bene hominem culmo quam auro tegi. Contemnite omnia, quae supervacuus labor velut

ornamentum ac decus ponit. Cogitate nihil praeter animum esse mirabile, cui magno nihil magnum est.' Si haec mecum, si haec cum posteris loquor, non videor 6
tibi plus prodesse, quam cum ad vadimonium advocatus descenderem, aut tabulis testamenti anulum imprimerem, aut in senatu candidato vocem et manum commodarem? Mihi crede, qui nihil agere videntur, maiora agunt: humana divinaque simul tractant.

Sed iam finis faciendus est et aliquid, ut institui, pro 7
hac epistula dependendum. Id non de meo fiet: adhuc Epicurum complicamus, cuius hanc vocem hodierno die legi: 'philosophiae servias oportet, ut tibi contingat vera libertas.' Non differtur in diem, qui se illi subiecit et tradidit: statim circumagitur. Hoc enim ipsum philosophiae servire libertas est. Potest fieri, ut me inter- 8
roges, quare ab Epicuro tam multa bene dicta referam potius quam nostrorum. Quid est tamen, quare tu istas Epicuri voces putes esse, non publicas? Quam multi poetae dicunt, quae philosophis aut dicta sunt aut dicenda! Non attingam tragicos nec togatas nostras. Habent enim hae quoque aliquid severitatis et sunt inter comoedias ac tragoedias mediae. Quantum disertissimorum versuum inter mimos iacet! Quam multa Publilii non excalceatis, sed cothurnatis dicenda sunt! Unum versum 9
eius, qui ad philosophiam pertinet et ad hanc partem, quae modo fuit in manibus, referam, quo negat fortuita in nostro habenda:

'Alienum est omne, quicquid optando evenit.'

Hunc versum a te dici non paulo melius et adstrictius 10
memini:

'Non est tuum, fortuna quod fecit tuum.'

Illud etiamnunc melius dictum a te non praeteribo:

'Dari bonum quod potuit, auferri potest.'

Hoc non imputo in solutum: *dedi* de tuo tibi. VALE.

EPISTULA XVII

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM

1 Proice omnia ista, si sapis, immo ut sapias, et ad bonam mentem magno cursu ac totis viribus tende. Si quid est, quo teneris, aut expedi aut incide. 'Moratur' inquis 'me res familiaris: sic illam disponere volo, ut sufficere nihil agenti possit, ne aut paupertas mihi oneri
2 sit aut ego alicui.' Cum hoc dicis, non videris vim ac potentiam eius, de quo cogitas, boni nosse. Et summam quidem rei pervides, quantum philosophia prosit, partes autem nondum satis subtiliter dispicis, necdum scis, quantum ubique nos adiuvet, quemadmodum et in maximis, ut Ciceronis utar verbo, opituletur ⟨et⟩ in minima descendat. Mihi crede, advoca illam in consilium:
3 suadebit tibi, ne ad calculos sedeas. Nempe hoc quaeris et hoc ista dilatione vis consequi, ne tibi paupertas timenda sit: quid si adpetenda est? Multis ad philosophandum obstitere divitiae; paupertas expedita est, secura est. Cum classicum cecinit, scit non se peti; cum 'aqua' conclamata est, quomodo exeat, non quid efferat, quaerit; [ut] si navigandum est, non strepitat portus nec unius comitatu inquieta sunt litora. Non circumstat illum turba servorum, ad quos pascendos transmarinarum
4 regionum est optanda fertilitas. Facile est pascere paucos ventres et bene institutos et nihil aliud desiderantes quam impleri. Parvo fames constat, magno fastidium. Pau-

pertas contenta est desideriis instantibus satisfacere. Quid est ergo, quare hanc recuses contubernalem, cuius mores sanus dives imitatur? Si vis vacare animo, aut 5
pauper sis oportet aut pauperi similis. Non potest studium salutare fieri sine frugalitatis cura; frugalitas autem paupertas voluntaria est. Tolle itaque istas excusationes: 'nondum habeo, quantum satis est; si ad illam summam pervenero, tunc me totum philosophiae dabo.' Atqui nihil prius quam hoc parandum est, quod tu differs et post cetera paras; ab hoc incipiendum est. 'Parare' inquis 'unde vivam volo.' Simul et parare disce: si quid te vetat bene vivere, bene mori non vetat. Non est quod nos paupertas a philosophia revocet, ne 6
egestas quidem. Toleranda est enim ad hoc properantibus vel fames. Quam toleravere quidam in obsidionibus, et quod aliud erat illis patientiae praemium quam in arbitrium non cadere victoris? Quanto hic maius est quod promittitur: perpetua libertas, nullius nec hominis nec dei timor. Et quidem vel esurienti ad ista veniendum est. Perpessi sunt exercitus inopiam omnium rerum, 7
vixerunt herbarum radicibus et dictu foedis, tulerunt famem. Haec omnia passi sunt pro regno, quo magis mireris, alieno: dubitabit aliquis ferre paupertatem, ut animum furoribus liberet? Non est ergo prius adquirendum: licet ad philosophiam etiam sine viatico pervenire. Ita est? Cum omnia habueris, tunc habere 8
et sapientiam voles? Haec erit ultimum vitae instrumentum et, ut ita dicam, additamentum? Tu vero sive aliquid habes: iam philosophare. Unde enim scis, an iam nimis habeas? Sive nihil: hoc prius quaere quam quicquam. 'At necessaria deerunt.' Primum deesse 9
non poterunt, quia natura minimum petit, naturae autem

se sapiens accommodat. Sed si necessitates ultimae inciderint, iamdudum exsiliet e vita et molestus sibi esse desinet. Si vero exiguum erit et angustum, quo possit vita produci, id boni consulet nec ultra necessaria sollicitus aut anxius ventri et scapulis suum reddet et occupationes divitum concursationesque ad divitias euntium securus
10 laetusque ridebit ac dicet: 'Quid in longum ipse te differs? Exspectabisne fenoris quaestum aut ex merce compendium aut tabulas beati senis, cum fieri possis statim dives? Repraesentat opes sapientia, quas, cuicumque fecit supervacuas, dedit.' Haec ad alios pertinent: tu locupletibus propior es. Saeculum muta, nimis habes. Idem est autem omni saeculo, quod sat est.

11 Poteram hoc loco epistulam claudere, nisi te male instituissem. Reges Parthorum non potest quisquam salutare sine munere: tibi valedicere non licet gratis. Quid istic? Ab Epicuro mutuum sumam: 'multis parasse divitias non finis miseriarum fuit, sed mutatio.'
12 Nec hoc miror. Non est enim in rebus vitium, sed in ipso animo. Illud, quod paupertatem nobis gravem fecerat, et divitias graves fecit. Quemadmodum nihil refert, utrum aegrum in ligneo lecto an in aureo colloces: quocumque illum transtuleris, morbum secum suum transferet: sic nihil refert, utrum aeger animus in divitiis an in paupertate ponatur. Malum illum suum sequitur. Vale.

EPISTULA XVIII

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

1 December est mensis: cum maxime civitas sudat. Ius luxuriae publicae datum est. Ingenti apparatu sonant omnia, tamquam quicquam inter Saturnalia inter-

sit et dies rerum agendarum: adeo nihil interest, ut ⟨non⟩ videatur mihi errasse, qui dixit olim mensem Decembrem fuisse, nunc annum. Si te hic haberem, 2
libenter tecum conferrem, quid existimares esse faciendum: utrum nihil ex cotidiana consuetudine movendum an, ne dissidere videremur cum publicis moribus, et hilarius cenandum et exuendam togam. Nam quod fieri nisi in tumultu et tristi tempore civitatis non solebat, voluptatis causa ac festorum dierum vestem mutavimus. Si te bene novi, arbitri partibus functus nec per om- 3
nia nos similes esse pilleatae turbae voluisses nec per omnia dissimiles: nisi forte his maxime diebus animo imperandum est, ut tunc voluptatibus solus abstineat, cum in illas omnis turba procubuit; certissimum enim argumentum firmitatis suae capit, si ad blanda et in luxuriam trahentia nec it nec abducitur. Hoc multo 4
fortius est, ebrio ac vomitante populo siccum ac sobrium esse, illud temperatius, non excerpere se, nec insigniri nec misceri omnibus et eadem, sed non eodem modo facere. Licet enim sine luxuria agere festum diem. Ceterum adeo mihi placet temptare animi tui firmitatem, 5
ut ex praecepto magnorum virorum tibi quoque praecipiam: interponas aliquot dies, quibus contentus minimo ac vilissimo cibo, dura atque horrida veste, dicas tibi: 'hoc est quod timebatur?' In ipsa securitate ani- 6
mus ad difficilia se praeparet et contra iniurias Fortunae inter beneficia firmetur. Miles in media pace decurrit, sine ullo hoste vallum iacit et supervacuo labore lassatur, ut sufficere necessario possit. Quem in ipsa re trepidare nolueris, ante rem exerceas. Hoc secuti sunt, qui omnibus mensibus paupertatem imitati prope ad inopiam accesserunt, ne umquam expavescerent quod saepe di-

7 dicissent. Non est nunc quod existimes me dicere Timoneas cenas et pauperum cellas, et quicquid aliud est, per quod luxuria divitiarum taedio ludit: grabatus ille verus sit et sagum et panis durus ac sordidus. Hoc triduo et quatriduo fer, interdum pluribus diebus, ut non lusus sit, sed experimentum: tunc, mihi crede, Lucili, exsultabis dipondio satur et intelleges ad securitatem non opus esse Fortuna; hoc enim, quod necessitati
8 sat est, dat et irata. Non est tamen quare tu multum tibi facere videaris. Facies enim, quod multa milia servorum, multa milia pauperum faciunt; illo nomine te suspice, quod facies non coactus, quod tam facile erit tibi illud pati semper quam aliquando experiri. Exerceamur ad palum. Et ne imparatos Fortuna deprehendat, fiat nobis paupertas familiaris. Securius divites erimus,
9 si scierimus, quam non sit grave pauperes esse. Certos habebat dies ille magister voluptatis Epicurus, quibus maligne famem exstingueret, visurus, an aliquid deesset ex plena et consummata voluptate, vel quantum deesset et an dignum quod quis magno labore pensaret. Hoc certe in his epistulis ait, quas scripsit Charino magistratu ad Polyaenum. Et quidem gloriatur non toto asse *se* pasci, Metrodorum, qui nondum tantum profecerit, toto.
10 In hoc tu victu saturitatem putas esse? Et voluptas est. Voluptas autem non illa levis et fugax et subinde reficienda, sed stabilis et certa. Non enim iucunda res est aqua et polenta aut frustum hordeacei panis, sed summa voluptas est posse capere etiam ex his voluptatem et ad id se deduxisse, quod eripere nulla Fortunae
11 iniquitas possit. Liberaliora alimenta sunt carceris, sepositos ad capitale supplicium non tam anguste, qui occisurus est, pascit: quanta est animi magnitudo ad

id sua sponte descendere, quod ne ad extrema quidem decretis timendum sit. Hoc est praeoccupare tela Fortunae. Incipe ergo, mi Lucili, sequi horum consuetu- 12
dinem et aliquos dies destina, quibus secedas a tuis rebus minimoque te facias familiarem; incipe cum paupertate habere commercium:

'Aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
Finge deo.'

Nemo alius est deo dignus quam qui opes contempsit. 13
Quarum possessionem tibi non interdico, sed efficere volo, ut illas intrepide possideas: quod uno consequeris modo, si te etiam sine illis beate victurum persuaseris tibi, si illas tamquam exituras semper adspexeris.

Sed iam incipiamus epistulam complicare. 'Prius' 14
inquis 'redde quod debes.' Delegabo te ad Epicurum. Ab illo fiet numeratio: 'immodica ira gignit insaniam.' Hoc quam verum sit, necesse est scias, cum habueris et servum et inimicum. In omnes personas hic exar- 15
descit adfectus. Tam ex amore nascitur quam ex odio, non minus inter seria quam inter lusus et iocos. Nec interest, ex quam magna causa nascatur, sed in qualem perveniat animum. Sic ignis non refert quam magnus, sed quo incidat. Nam etiam maximum solida non receperunt; rursus arida et conripi facilia scintillam quoque fovent usque in incendium. Ita est, mi Lucili, ingentis irae exitus furor est, et ideo ira vitanda est non moderationis causa, sed sanitatis. VALE.

EPISTULA LVI

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

1 Peream, si est tam necessarium quam videtur silentium in studia seposito. Ecce undique me varius clamor circumsonat. Supra ipsum balneum habito. Propone nunc tibi omnia genera vocum, quae in odium possunt aures adducere: cum fortiores exercentur et manus plumbo graves iactant, cum aut laborant aut laborantem imitantur, gemitus audio, quotiens retentum spiritum remiserunt, sibilos et acerbissimas respirationes; cum in aliquem inertem et hac plebeia unctione contentum incidi, audio crepitum inlisae manus umeris, quae prout plana pervenit aut concava, ita sonum mutat. Si vero pilicrepus super-
2 venit et numerare coepit pilas, actum est. Adice nunc scordalum et furem deprensum et illum, cui vox sua in balineo placet. Adice nunc eos, qui in piscinam cum ingenti impulsae aquae sono saliunt. Praeter istos, quorum, si nihil aliud, rectae voces sunt, alipilum cogita tenuem et stridulam vocem, quo sit notabilior, subinde exprimentem nec umquam tacentem, nisi dum vellit alas et alium pro se clamare cogit. Iam libarii varias exclamationes et botularium et crustularium et omnes popinarum institores mercem sua quadam et insignita modulatione
3 vendentis. 'O te' inquis 'ferreum aut surdum, cui mens inter tot clamores tam varios, tam dissonos constat, cum Chrysippum nostrum adsidua salutatio perducat ad mortem.' At mehercules ego istum fremitum non magis curo quam fluctum aut deiectum aquae, quamvis audiam cuidam genti hanc unam fuisse causam urbem suam transferendi, quod fragorem Nili cadentis ferre non potuit.

Magis mihi videtur vox avocare quam crepitus. Illa 4
enim animum adducit, hic tantum aures implet ac verberat.
In his, quae me sine avocatione circumstrepunt, essedas
transcurrentes pono et fabrum inquilinum et serrarium
vicinum, aut hunc, qui ad Metam Sudantem tubulas ex-
peritur et tibias, nec cantat, sed exclamat. Etiamnunc
molestior est mihi sonus, qui intermittitur subinde quam
qui continuatur. Sed iam me sic ad omnia ista duravi, 5
ut audire vel pausarium possim voce acerbissima remigi-
bus modos dantem. Animum enim cogo sibi intentum
esse nec avocari ad externa: omnia licet foris resonent,
dum intus nihil tumultus sit, dum inter se non rixentur
cupiditas et timor, dum avaritia luxuriaque non dis-
sideant nec altera alteram vexet. Nam quid prodest
totius regionis silentium, si adfectus fremunt?

'Omnia noctis erant placida composta quiete.' 6

Falsum est. Nulla placida est quies, nisi qua ratio com-
posuit: nox exhibet molestiam, non tollit, et sollicitudines
mutat. Nam dormientium quoque insomnia tam tur-
bulenta sunt quam dies. Illa tranquillitas vera est, in
quam bona mens explicatur. Adspice illum, cui somnus 7
laxae domus silentio quaeritur, cuius aures ne quis agitet
sonus, omnis servorum turba conticuit et suspensum
accedentium propius vestigium ponitur: huc nempe
versatur atque illuc, somnum inter aegritudines levem
captans. Quae non audit, audisse se queritur. Quid 8
in causa putas esse? Animus illi obstrepit. Hic pla-
candus est, huius compescenda seditio est, quem non
est quod existimes placidum, si iacet corpus. Interdum
quies inquieta est. Et ideo ad rerum actus excitandi
ac tractatione bonarum artium occupandi sumus, quo-

9 tiens nos male habet inertia sui impatiens. Magni imperatores, cum male parere militem vident, aliquo labore compescunt et expeditionibus detinent: numquam vacat lascivire districtis nihilque tam certum est quam otii vitia negotio discuti. Saepe videmur taedio rerum civilium et infelicis atque ingratae stationis paenitentia secessisse: tamen in illa latebra, in quam nos timor ac lassitudo coniecit, interdum recrudescit ambitio. Non enim excisa desiit, sed fatigata aut etiam obirata rebus
10 parum sibi cedentibus. Idem de luxuria dico, quae videtur aliquando cessisse, deinde frugalitatem professos sollicitat atque in media parsimonia voluptates non damnatas, sed relictas petit, et quidem eo vehementius, quo occultius. Omnia enim vitia in aperto leniora sunt: morbi quoque tunc ad sanitatem inclinant, cum ex abdito erumpunt ac vim suam proferunt. Et avaritiam itaque et ambitionem et cetera mala mentis humanae tunc perniciosissima scias esse, cum simulata sanitate subsidunt.
11 Otiosi videmur, et non sumus. Nam si bona fide sumus, si receptui cecinimus, si speciosa contemnimus, ut paulo ante dicebam, nulla res nos avocabit, nullus hominum aviumque concentus interrumpet cogitationes bonas,
12 solidasque iam et certas. Leve illud ingenium est nec sese adhuc reduxit introrsus, quod ad vocem et accidentia erigitur. Habet intus aliquid sollicitudinis et habet aliquid concepti pavoris, quod illum curiosum facit, ut ait Vergilius noster:

> 'Et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant
> tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai,
> nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis
> suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.'

Prior ille sapiens est, quem non tela vibrantia, non arietata 13
inter *se* arma agminis densi, non urbis impulsae fragor
territat: hic alter imperitus est, rebus suis timet ad omnem
crepitum expavescens, quem una quaelibet vox pro fremitu
accepta deicit, quem motus levissimi exanimant: timidum
illum sarcinae faciunt. Quemcumque ex istis felicibus ele- 14
geris, multa trahentibus, multa portantibus, videbis illum
'comitique onerique timentem.' Tunc ergo te scito esse
compositum, cum ad te nullus clamor pertinebit, cum te
nulla vox tibi excutiet, non si blandietur, non si minabitur,
non si inani sono vana circumstrepet. 'Quid ergo? non 15
aliquando commodius est et carere convicio?' Fateor.
Itaque ego ex hoc loco migrabo. Experiri et exercere me
volui. Quid necesse est diutius torqueri, cum tam facile
remedium Ulixes sociis etiam adversus Sirenas invenerit?
Vale.

EPISTULA LXI

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

Desinamus, quod voluimus, velle. Ego certe id ago, 1
senex ne eadem velim, quae puer volui. In hoc unum
eunt dies, in hoc noctes, hoc opus meum est, haec
cogitatio: imponere veteribus malis finem. Id ago,
ut mihi instar totius vitae dies sit. Nec mehercules
tamquam ultimum rapio, sed sic illum adspicio, tam-
quam esse vel ultimus possit. Hoc animo tibi hanc 2
epistulam scribo, tamquam me cum maxime scribentem
mors evocatura sit. Paratus exire sum et ideo fruar
vita, quia quam diu futurum hoc sit, non nimis pendeo.
Ante senectutem curavi, ut bene viverem, in senectute,
ut bene moriar: bene autem mori est libenter mori.

3 Da operam, ne quid umquam invitus facias. Quicquid necesse futurum est repugnanti, volenti necessitas non est. Ita dico: qui imperia libens excipit, partem acerbissimam servitutis effugit, facere quod nolit. Non qui iussus aliquid facit, miser est, sed qui invitus facit. Itaque sic animum componamus, ut quicquid res exiget, id velimus et in primis ut finem nostri sine tristitia cogitemus.
4 Ante ad mortem quam ad vitam praeparandi sumus. Satis instructa vita est, sed nos in instrumenta eius avidi sumus: deesse aliquid nobis videtur et semper videbitur. Ut satis vixerimus, nec anni nec dies faciunt, sed animus. Vixi, Lucili carissime, quantum satis erat: mortem plenus exspecto. Vale.

EPISTULA LXXIII

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

1 Errare mihi videntur, qui existimant philosophiae fideliter deditos contumaces esse ac refractarios, contemptores magistratuum aut regum eorumve, per quos publica administrantur. Ex contrario enim nulli adversus illos gratiores sunt: nec immerito. Nullis enim plus praestant quam quibus frui tranquillo otio licet.
2 Itaque ii, quibus multum ad propositum bene vivendi confert securitas publica, necesse est auctorem huius boni ut parentem colant, multo quidem magis quam illi inquieti et in medio positi, qui multa principibus debent, sed multa et imputant, quibus numquam iam plene occurrere ulla liberalitas potest, ut cupiditates illorum, quae crescunt, dum implentur, exsatiet. Quisquis autem de accipiendo cogitat, oblitus accepti est.

Nec ullum habet malum cupiditas maius, quam quod ingrata est. Adice nunc, quod nemo eorum, qui in re 3
publica versantur, quot vincat, sed a quibus vincatur, adspicit. Et illis non tam iucundum est multos post se videre quam grave aliquem ante se. Habet hoc vitium omnis ambitio: non respicit. Nec ambitio tantum instabilis est, verum cupiditas omnis, quia incipit semper a fine. At ille vir sincerus ac purus, qui reliquit et 4
curiam et forum et omnem administrationem rei publicae, ut ad ampliora secederet, diligit eos, per quos hoc ei facere tuto licet solusque illis gratuitum testimonium reddit et magnam rem nescientibus debet. Quemadmodum praeceptores suos veneratur ac suspicit, quorum beneficio illis inviis exiit, sic et hos, sub quorum tutela positus exercet artes bonas. 'Verum alios quoque rex 5
viribus suis protegit.' Quis negat? Sed quemadmodum Neptuno plus debere se iudicat ex iis, qui eadem tranquillitate usi sunt, qui plura et pretiosiora illo mari vexit, animosius a mercatore quam a vectore solvitur votum, et ex ipsis mercatoribus effusius gratus est, qui odores ac purpuras et auro pensanda portabat quam qui vilissima quaeque et saburrae loco futura congesserat: sic huius pacis beneficium ad omnes pertinentis altius ad eos pervenit, qui illa bene utuntur. Multi enim sunt ex his togatis, 6
quibus pax operosior bello est: an idem existimas pro pace debere eos, qui illam ebrietati aut libidini impendunt aut aliis vitiis, quae vel bello rumpenda sunt? Nisi forte tam iniquum putas esse sapientem, ut nihil viritim se debere pro communibus bonis iudicet. Soli lunaeque plurimum debeo, et non uni mihi oriuntur. Anno temperantique annum deo privatim obligatus sum, quamvis nihil in meum honorem descripta sint. Stulta avaritia mortalium 7

possessionem proprietatemque discernit nec quicquam suum credit esse, quod publicum est. At ille sapiens nihil iudicat suum magis quam cuius illi cum humano genere consortium est. Nec enim essent ita communia, nisi pars illorum pertineret ad singulos; socium efficit etiam
8 quod ex minima portione commune est. Adice nunc, quod magna et vera bona non sic dividuntur, ut exiguum in singulos cadat: ad unumquemque tota perveniunt. Ex congiario tantum ferunt homines, quantum in capita promissum est. Epulum et visceratio et quicquid aliud manu capitur, discedit in partes: at haec individua bona, pax et libertas, et tam omnium tota quam singulorum
9 sunt. Cogitat itaque, per quem sibi horum usus fructusque contingat, per quem non ad arma illum nec ad servandas vigilias nec ad tuenda moenia et multiplex belli tributum publica necessitas vocet, agitque gubernatori suo gratias. Hoc docet philosophia praecipue, bene debere beneficia, bene solvere: interdum autem solutio est ipsa
10 confessio. Confitebitur ergo multum se debere ei, cuius administratione ac providentia contingit illi pingue otium et arbitrium sui temporis et imperturbata publicis occupationibus quies.

> 'O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit:
> namque erit ille mihi semper deus.'

11 Si illa quoque otia multum auctori suo debent, quorum munus hoc maximum est,

> 'Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum
> ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti,'

quanti aestimamus hoc otium, quod inter deos agitur,
12 quod deos facit? Ita dico, Lucili, et te in caelum com-

pendiario voco. Solebat Sextius dicere Iovem plus non posse quam bonum virum. Plura Iuppiter habet, quae praestet hominibus, sed inter duos bonos non est melior, qui locupletior, non magis quam inter duos, quibus par scientia regendi gubernaculum est, meliorem dixeris, cui maius speciosiusque navigium est. Iuppiter 13
quo antecedit virum bonum? Diutius bonus est: sapiens nihilo se minoris existimat, quod virtutes eius spatio breviore cluduntur. Quemadmodum ex duobus sapientibus qui senior decessit, non est beatior eo, cuius intra pauciores annos terminata virtus est, sic deus non vincit sapientem felicitate, etiam si vincit aetate. Non est virtus maior, quae longior. Iuppiter omnia habet, 14
sed nempe aliis tradidit habenda; ad ipsum hic unus usus pertinet, quod utendi omnibus causa est: sapiens tam aequo animo omnia apud alios videt contemnitque quam Iuppiter et hoc se magis suspicit, quod Iuppiter uti illis non potest, sapiens non vult. Credamus itaque 15
Sextio monstranti pulcherrimum iter et clamanti: hac 'itur ad astra,' hac secundum frugalitatem, hac secundum temperantiam, hac secundum fortitudinem. Non sunt di fastidiosi, non invidi: admittunt et adscendentibus manum porrigunt. Miraris hominem ad deos ire? Deus ad 16
homines venit, immo quod est propius, in homines venit: nulla sine deo mens bona est. Semina in corporibus humanis divina dispersa sunt, quae si bonus cultor excipit, similia origini prodeunt et paria iis, ex quibus orta sunt, surgunt: si malus, non aliter quam humus sterilis ac palustris necat ac deinde creat purgamenta pro frugibus. Vale.

EPISTULA LXXX

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

1 Hodierno die non tantum meo beneficio mihi vaco, sed spectaculi, quod omnes molestos ad sphaeromachian avocavit. Nemo inrumpet, nemo cogitationem meam impediet, quae hac ipsa fiducia procedit audacius. Non crepabit subinde ostium, non adlevabitur velum: licebit tuto vadere, quod magis necessarium est per se eunti et suam sequenti viam. Non ergo sequor priores? Facio, sed permitto mihi et invenire aliquid et mutare et relin-
2 quere. Non servio illis, sed adsentior. Magnum tamen verbum dixi, qui mihi silentium promittebam et sine interpellatore secretum: ecce ingens clamor ex stadio perfertur et me non excutit mihi, sed in huius ipsius rei contentionem transfert. Cogito mecum, quam multi corpora exerceant, ingenia quam pauci; quantus ad spectaculum non fidele et lusorium fiat concursus, quanta sit circa artes bonas solitudo; quam imbecilli animo sint,
3 quorum lacertos umerosque miramur. Illud maxime revolvo mecum: si corpus perduci exercitatione ad hanc patientiam potest, qua et pugnos pariter et calces non unius hominis ferat, qua solem ardentissimum in ferventissimo pulvere sustinens aliquis et sanguine suo madens diem ducat: quanto facilius animus conroborari possit, ut fortunae ictus invictus excipiat, ut proiectus, ut conculcatus exsurgat. Corpus enim multis eget rebus, ut valeat: animus ex se crescit, se ipse alit, se exercet. Illis multo cibo, multa potione opus est, multo oleo, longa denique opera: tibi continget virtus sine apparatu, sine impensa. Quicquid facere te potest

bonum, tecum est. Quid tibi opus est, ut sis bonus? 4
Velle. Quid autem melius potes velle quam eripere te huic servituti, quae omnes premit, quam mancipia quoque condicionis extremae et in his sordibus nata omni modo exuere conantur? Peculium suum, quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant: tu non concupisces quanticumque ad libertatem pervenire, qui te in illa putas natum? Quid ad arcam tuam respicis? 5
Emi non potest. Itaque in tabulas vanum coicitur nomen libertatis, quam nec qui emerunt, habent nec qui vendiderunt: tibi des oportet istud bonum, a te petas. Libera te primum metu mortis: illa nobis iugum imponit; deinde metu paupertatis. Si vis scire, quam nihil in illa 6
mali sit, compara inter se pauperum et divitum vultus: saepius pauper et fidelius ridet; nulla sollicitudo in alto est; etiam si qua incidit cura, velut nubes levis transit: horum, qui felices vocantur, hilaritas ficta est at gravis et suppurata tristitia, eo quidem gravior, quia interdum non licet palam esse miseros, sed inter aerumnas cor ipsum exedentes necesse est agere felicem. Sae- 7
pius hoc exemplo mihi utendum est, nec enim ullo efficacius exprimitur hic humanae vitae mimus, qui nobis partes, quas male agamus, adsignat: ille, qui in scaena latus incedit et haec resupinus dicit,

> 'En impero Argis: regna mihi liquit Pelops,
> qua ponto ab Helles atque ab Ionio mari
> urgetur Isthmos,'

servus est, quinque modios accipit et quinque denarios; ille qui superbus atque impotens et fiducia virium tumidus 8
ait:

> 'Quod nisi quieris, Menelae, hac dextra occides,'

diurnum accipit, in centunculo dormit. Idem de istis licet omnibus dicas, quos supra capita hominum supraque turbam delicatos lectica suspendit: omnium istorum personata
9 felicitas est. Contemnes illos, si despoliaveris. Equum empturus solvi iubes stratum, detrahis vestimenta venalibus, ne qua vitia corporis lateant: hominem involutum aestimas? Mangones quicquid est, quod displiceat, aliquo lenocinio abscondunt, itaque ementibus ornamenta ipsa suspecta sunt: sive crus alligatum sive brachium adspiceres,
10 nudari iuberes et ipsum tibi corpus ostendi. Vides illum Scythiae Sarmatiaeve regem insigni capitis decorum? Si vis illum aestimare totumque scire, qualis sit, fasciam solve: multum mali sub illa latet. Quid de aliis loquor? Si perpendere te voles, sepone pecuniam, domum, dignitatem, intus te ipse considera: nunc qualis sis, aliis credis. VALE.

EPISTULA CVI

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM

1 Tardius rescribo ad epistulas tuas, non quia districtus occupationibus sum. Hanc excusationem cave audias: vaco et omnes vacant, qui volunt. Neminem res sequuntur. Ipsi illas amplexantur et argumentum esse felicitatis occupationem putant. Quid ergo fuit, quare non protinus rescriberem? Id, de quo quaerebas, veniebat in con-
2 textum operis mei. Scis enim me moralem philosophiam velle complecti et omnes ad eam pertinentes quaestiones explicare. Itaque dubitavi utrum differrem te, donec suus isti rei veniret locus, an ius tibi extra ordinem dicerem: humanius visum est tam longe venientem non
3 detinere. Itaque et hoc ex illa serie rerum cohaerentium excerpam et, si qua erunt eiusmodi, non quaerenti tibi

ultro mittam. Quae sint haec interrogas? Quae scire magis iuvat quam prodest, sicut hoc, de quo quaeris: bonum an corpus sit? Bonum facit: prodest enim. 4 Quod facit, corpus est. Bonum agitat animum et quodammodo format et continet, quae propria sunt corporis. Quae corporis bona sunt, corpora sunt: ergo et quae animi sunt. Nam et hoc corpus est. Bonum hominis 5 necesse est corpus sit, cum ipse sit corporalis. Mentior, nisi et quae alunt illum et quae valitudinem eius vel custodiunt vel restituunt, corpora sunt: ergo et bonum eius corpus est. Non puto te dubitaturum, an adfectus corpora sint — ut aliud quoque, de quo non quaeris, infulciam — tamquam ira, amor, tristitia, *ni*si dubitas, an vultum nobis mutent, an frontem adstringant, an faciem diffundant, an ruborem evocent, an fugent sanguinem. Quid ergo? Tam manifestas notas corporis credis imprimi nisi a corpore? Si adfectus corpora sunt, 6 et morbi animorum, ut avaritia, crudelitas, indurata vitia et in statum inemendabilem adducta: ergo et malitia et 7 species eius omnes, malignitas, invidia, superbia: ergo et bona, primum quia contraria istis sunt, deinde quia eadem tibi indicia praestabunt. An non vides, quantum oculis det vigorem fortitudo? Quantam intentionem prudentia? Quantam modestiam et quietem reverentia? Quantam serenitatem laetitia? Quantum rigorem severitas? Quantam remissionem lenitas? Corpora ergo sunt, quae colorem habitumque corporum mutant, quae in illis regnum suum exercent. Omnes autem, quas rettuli, virtutes bona sunt, et quicquid ex illis est. Numquid est 8 dubium, an id, quo quid tangi potest, corpus sit?

'Tangere enim et tangi nisi corpus nulla potest res,'

ut ait Lucretius. Omnia autem ista, quae dixi, non mutarent corpus, nisi tangerent: ergo corpora sunt.
9 Etiam nunc cui tanta vis est, ut impellat et cogat et retineat et inhibeat, corpus est. Quid ergo? Non timor retinet? Non audacia impellit? Non fortitudo immittit et impetum dat? Non moderatio refrenat ac revocat?
10 Non gaudium extollit? Non tristitia adducit? Denique quicquid facimus, aut malitiae aut virtutis gerimus imperio: quod imperat corpori, corpus est, quod vim corpori adfert, corpus. Bonum corporis corporalest, bonum hominis et corporis bonum est: itaque corporale
11 est. Quoniam, ut voluisti, morem gessi tibi, nunc ipse dicam mihi, quod dicturum esse te video: latrunculis ludimus. In supervacuis subtilitas teritur: non faciunt
12 bonos ista, sed doctos. Apertior res est sapere, immo simpliciter satius est ad mentem bonam uti litteris, sed nos ut cetera in supervacuum diffundimus, ita philosophiam ipsam. Quemadmodum omnium rerum, sic litterarum quoque intemperantia laboramus: non vitae, sed scholae discimus. Vale.

EPISTULA CXV

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

1 Nimis anxium esse te circa verba et compositionem, mi Lucili, nolo: habeo maiora, quae cures. Quaere, quid scribas, non quemadmodum. Et hoc ipsum non ut scribas, sed ut sentias, ut illa, quae senseris, magis ad-
2 plices tibi et velut signes. Cuiuscumque orationem videris sollicitam et politam, scito animum quoque non minus esse pusillis occupatum. Magnus ille remissius loquitur et securius; quaecumque dicit, plus habent

fiduciae quam curae. Nosti comptulos iuvenes, barba et coma nitidos, de capsula totos: nihil ab illis speraveris forte, nihil solidum. Oratio cultus animi est: si circumtonsa est et fucata et manu facta, ostendit illum quoque non esse sincerum et habere aliquid fracti. Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas. Si nobis animum boni 3
viri liceret inspicere, o quam pulchram faciem, quam sanctam, quam ex magnifico placidoque fulgentem videremus, hinc iustitia, illinc fortitudine, hinc temperantia prudentiaque lucentibus! Praeter has frugalitas et continentia et tolerantia et liberalitas comitasque et — quis credat? — in homine rarum humanitas bonum, splendorem illi suum adfunderent. Tunc providentia cum elegantia et ex istis magnanimitas eminentissima quantum, di boni, decoris illi, quantum ponderis gravitatisque adderent! Quanta esset cum gratia auctoritas! Nemo illam amabilem, qui non simul venerabilem diceret. Si quis viderit hanc faciem altiorem fulgentioremque quam 4
cerni inter humana consuevit, nonne velut numinis occursu obstupefactus resistat et, ut 'fas sit vidisse,' tacitus precetur? Tum evocante ipsa vultus benignitate productus adoret ac supplicet, et diu contemplatus multum exstantem superque mensuram solitorum inter nos adspici elatam, oculis mite quiddam sed nihilominus vivido igne flagrantibus, tunc deinde illam Vergili nostri vocem verens atque attonitus emittat?

'O quam te memorem, virgo? Namque haut tibi vultus 5
mortalis nec vox hominem sonat.'

'Sis felix, nostrumque leves quaecumque laborem.'

Aderit levabitque, si colere eam voluerimus. Colitur autem non taurorum opimis corporibus contrucidatis

nec auro argentoque suspenso nec in thensauros stipe
6 infusa, sed pia et recta voluntate. Nemo, inquam, non
amore eius arderet, si nobis illam videre contingeret:
nunc enim multa obstrigillant et aciem nostram aut splen-
dore nimio repercutiunt aut obscure retinent. Sed si,
quemadmodum visus oculorum quibusdam medicamentis
acui solet et repurgari, sic nos aciem animi liberare im-
pedimentis voluerimus, poterimus perspicere virtutem
etiam obrutam corpore, etiam paupertate opposita, etiam
7 humilitate et infamia obiacentibus. Cernemus, inquam,
pulchritudinem illam quamvis sordido obtectam. Rursus
aeque malitiam et aerumnosi animi veternum perspicie-
mus, quamvis multus circa divitiarum radiantium splendor
impediat et intuentem hinc honorum, illinc magnarum
8 potestatium falsa lux verberet. Tunc intellegere nobis
licebit, quam contemnenda miremur, simillimi pueris,
quibus omne ludicrum in pretio est: parentibus quippe
nec minus fratribus praeferunt parvo aere empta monilia.
Quid ergo inter nos et illos interest, ut Ariston ait, nisi
quod nos circa tabulas et statuas insanimus carius inepti?
Illos reperti in litore calculi leves et aliquid habentes
varietatis delectant, nos ingentium maculae columnarum,
sive ex Aegyptiis harenis sive ex Africae solitudinibus
advectae porticum aliquam vel capacem populi cenationem
9 ferunt. Miramur parietes tenui marmore inductos, cum
sciamus, quale sit quod absconditur. Oculis nostris
imponimus, et cum auro tecta perfudimus, quid aliud
quam mendacio gaudemus? Sciemus enim sub illo auro
foeda ligna latitare. Nec tantum parietibus aut lacuna-
ribus ornamentum tenue praetenditur: omnium istorum,
quos incedere altos vides, bracteata felicitas est. Inspice,
et scies, sub ista tenui membrana dignitatis quantum

mali iaceat. Haec ipsa res, quae tot magistratus, tot 10
iudices detinet, quae et magistratus et iudices facit,
pecunia, ex quo in honore esse coepit, verus rerum honor
cecidit; mercatoresque et venales in vicem facti quaerimus
non quale sit quidque, sed quanti: ad mercedem pii
sumus, ad mercedem impii, et honesta, quamdiu aliqua
illis spes inest, sequimur, in contrarium transituri, si
plus scelera promittent. Admirationem nobis parentes 11
auri argentique fecerunt, et teneris infusa cupiditas altius
sedit crevitque nobiscum. Deinde totus populus in
alia discors in hoc convenit. Hoc suspiciunt, hoc suis
optant, hoc dis velut rerum humanarum maximum,
cum grati videri volunt, consecrant. Denique eo mores
redacti sunt, ut paupertas maledicto probroque sit, con-
tempta divitibus, invisa pauperibus. Accedunt deinde 12
carmina poetarum, quae adfectibus nostris facem sub-
dant, quibus divitiae velut unicum vitae decus orna-
mentumque laudantur. Nihil illis melius nec dare vi-
dentur di immortales posse nec habere

> 'Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis 13
> clara micante auro.'

Eiusdem currum aspice:

> 'Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summae
> curvatura rotae, radiorum argenteus ordo.'

Denique quod optimum videri volunt saeculum, Aureum
appellant. Nec apud Graecos tragicos desunt, qui lucro 14
innocentiam, salutem, opinionem bonam mutent.

> 'Sine me vocari pessimum, ut dives vocer.'
> 'An dives, omnes quaerimus, nemo, an bonus.'

'Non quare et unde, quid habeas, tantum rogant.'
'Ubique tanti quisque, quantum habuit, fuit.'
'Quid habere nobis turpe sit quaeris? Nihil.'
'Aut dives opto vivere aut pauper mori.'
'Bene moritur, quisquis moritur dum lucrum facit.'

'Pecunia, ingens generis humani bonum,
cui non voluptas matris aut blandae potest
par esse prolis, non sacer meritis parens:
tam dulce si quid Veneris in vultu micat,
merito illa amores caelitum atque hominum movet.'

15 Cum hi novissimi versus in tragoedia Euripidis pronuntiati essent, totus populus ad eiciendum et actorem et carmen consurrexit uno impetu, donec Euripides in medium ipse prosilivit petens, ut exspectarent viderentque, quem admirator auri exitum faceret. Dabat in illa fabula poenas Bellerophontes, quas in sua quisque dat.
16 Nulla enim avaritia sine poena est, quamvis satis sit ipsa poenarum. O quantum lacrimarum, quantum laborum exigit! Quam misera desiderat esse, quam misera e partis est! Adice cotidianas sollicitudines, quae pro modo habendi quemque discruciant. Maiore tormento pecunia possidetur quam quaeritur. Quantum damnis ingemescunt, quae et magna incidunt et videntur maiora! Denique ut illis fortuna nihil detrahat, quidquid non adquiritur,
17 damnum est. 'At felicem illum homines et divitem vocant et consequi optant, quantum ille possidet.' Fateor. Quid ergo? Tu ullos esse condicionis peioris existimas quam qui habent et miseriam et invidiam? Utinam qui divitias optaturi essent, cum divitibus deliberarent; utinam honores petituri cum ambitiosis et summum adeptis dignitatis statum! Profecto vota mutassent,

cum interim illi nova suscipiunt, cum priora damnaverint. Nemo enim est, cui felicitas sua, etiam si cursu venit, satis faciat. Queruntur et de consiliis et de processibus suis maluntque semper quae reliquerunt. Itaque hoc 18
tibi philosophia praestabit, quo equidem nihil maius existimo: numquam te paenitebit tui. Ad hanc tam solidam felicitatem, quam tempestas nulla concutiat, non perducent te apte verba contexta et oratio fluens leniter: eant, ut volent, dum animo compositio sua constet, dum sit magnus et opinionum securus et ob ipsa, quae aliis displicent, sibi placens, qui profectum suum vita aestimet et tantum scire se iudicet, quantum non cupit, quantum non timet. VALE.

A few references are made in the Notes to the Latin grammars indicated: the Gildersleeve-Lodge grammar (G.L.), Bennett's (B.), Allen and Greenough's (A.G.), and Hale and Buck's (H.B.).

NOTES

AD POLYBIUM DE CONSOLATIONE

Polybius, whose brother's death was the occasion of Seneca's proffered consolation, was a freedman of the Emperor Claudius, and occupied the important post of *ab studiis*,[1] — secretary to the Emperor in his literary work. Apparently also from a remark in the present *Consolatio*, vi. 5, he performed at least to some extent the duties of secretary *a libellis*, who received and classified the petitions addressed to the Emperor. That Polybius did literary work on his own account is evident from chapters ii., viii., and xi. From the *Consolatio*, too, we know that he had other brothers besides the one whom he had lost, and also a wife and son.[2] According to Dio Cassius,[3] Polybius intrigued with the Empress Messalina, who finally turned against him and caused his death; to this connection Seneca seems to allude in the *Apocolocyntosis*, xiii. 5.

The Consolation to Polybius was written from Corsica after Seneca had been in exile there for about two years, when he was losing the fine patience that he had displayed in comforting his mother Helvia upon his misfortune. He offers to Polybius honestly enough the common consolations of his philosophic repertory; but the most notable feature of the essay is the flattery of the Emperor, which presently appears to have been its chief motive, in the hope, on Seneca's part, that it would be reported to Claudius and lead to his own pardon and return from exile. For the time, at least, the hope proved vain.

The question,[4] by Diderot and others, of the authenticity of this work as Seneca's, was chiefly on the ground of its general unworthiness of Seneca's character, and particularly of the absurd

[1] Suetonius, *Claud.* 28; cf. *Cons. ad Polyb.* v. 2.
[2] xii. 1. [3] LX. 31, 2. [4] Cf. p. xxi, note.

contrast between the references to Claudius in it and in the *Apocolocyntosis*. The lapse of consistency is of course obvious; the attitude of the *Consolatio* appears to be an unhappy example of the policy which Seneca justifies in his *De Constantia Sapientis*,[1] the offer of a sop to the watch-dog, the toll paid at the gate in order that one may be allowed to pass; on the other hand, it has been suggested that its flatteries of Claudius are only ironical, and some such thought can hardly have been wholly absent from Seneca's mind.

Dio, however, says [2] that Seneca, sick of his exile, sent to Rome from the island a petition (*βιβλίον*) in which he flattered Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius, but which afterward, when he had risen to the highest distinction, he was ashamed of and tried to suppress. It is true that the present work contains no mention of Messalina and speaks of only one freedman. Possibly the petition mentioned by Dio was a wholly different thing. Seneca may perhaps have tried more than once in this way to secure his recall from exile.[3] But it seems not unlikely that Dio, without

[1] xiv. 2. [2] LXI. 10.

[3] There are several extant epigrams of Seneca referring to Corsica and his exile there. One of them, addressed *ad Corsicam*, ends with the lines, referring to himself as buried in the island: —

> Parce relegatis, hoc est, iam parce sepultis:
> Vivorum cineri sit tua terra levis.

The last line is a parody of the expression familiar in epitaphs, *Sit tibi terra levis*. Another of the epigrams is a description of Corsica.

> Barbara praeruptis inclusa est Corsica saxis,
> Horrida, desertis undique vasta locis.
> Non poma autumnus, segetes non educat aestas,
> Canaque Palladio munere bruma caret.
> Umbrarum nullo ver est laetabile foetu,
> Nullaque in infausto nascitur herba solo.
> Non panis, non haustus aquae, non ultimus ignis:
> Hic sola haec duo sunt, exsul et exsilium.

Another of the epigrams, entitled *Querela*, contains the suggestive outburst, *dolor omnia cogit*, which is by no means Seneca's only confession that "the flesh is weak." All of the epigrams are sufficiently in contrast with Seneca's courageous independence in the *Consolatio ad*

having read the work, may have referred to it inaccurately from his general impression of what he had heard of it. So, easily, the plural "freedmen" might be accounted for, and Messalina was a natural inference. Possibly the lost beginning of the piece included some references to her and them; and indeed Seneca's effort to suppress the work may have been so far successful as to be the cause of the fact that it has been transmitted to us only in a mutilated form.

The extent of the loss at the beginning of the dialogue we do not know. The traditional paragraph numbers are no guide; for in many of the manuscripts and in the early editions this *Consolatio* follows without separation after the dialogue *Ad Paulinum de Brevitate Vitae*, and the numbering is consecutive, the first few sentences of the *Consolatio ad Polybium* being treated as a remainder of the twentieth chapter of the *De Brevitate Vitae*. In the present text the old numbers are given in Arabic figures in brackets.

It is an interesting fact that in the best manuscript of the *Twelve Dialogues*, the *Codex Ambrosianus C* 90 (written about the beginning of the eleventh century), of the Ambrosian library in Milan, the *Consolatio ad Polybium* is nearly all lacking. It was originally included in this manuscript, as is shown by the index prefixed to the folio which contains the dialogues, and by the fact that about a page and a half of it, from the words *magna discrimina* (chap. xvii. 2) to the end, are still there. The rest of the leaves which contained the work have been torn out, we may guess, by some monkish critic whose disapproval of Seneca's flatteries was so violent that it had to be expressed in this way. The first part of the dialogue was doubtless lost before this manuscript was made. For the greater part of the existing text of it we have to rely upon a group of later manuscripts, of which the best is one at Berlin, of the fourteenth century.

Helviam Matrem, or the retrospective enthusiasm for the retirement and uninterrupted philosophic speculation of his life in Corsica which is put into his mouth in the *Octavia*, lines 381 seq. Yet it is by no means inconceivable that the Consolation to Helvia may itself have been published with some view to its effect upon Seneca's fortunes, though it represents a totally different pose from that exhibited to Polybius.

I. In the general destructibility of all created things, it is absurd and impertinent to complain that what is fated for the whole world is not averted from one's own particular household.

1. The first sentence is incomplete. A beginning may easily be supplied conjecturally; perhaps something like the following: ⟨*Quereris signa inania perenniora esse quam vitam nostram: si eorum sortem*⟩ **nostrae compares, firma sunt**, e.q.s. Evidently there has been a comparison, perhaps by way of complaint from Polybius, to something which does not perish so quickly as our human lives, and which furnishes Seneca his natural antithesis. The use of the second person, with an occasional supposed interruption (*occupatio*) from the person addressed, is characteristic of Seneca's "dialogue" form. — **redigas**: the object is the word to be supplied (e.g. *signa* or *eorum sortem*, as above) for that with which our transitory human lot is contrasted. — **omnia**: object of *destruentis* and *revocantis*. — **Septem illa miracula**: the familiar Seven Wonders of the World. — **qua . . . mirabiliora**: object of *exstruxit*, the subject of which is *annorum ambitio*. At the same time *si qua* is equivalent to *quaecumque, whatever*, and with *miracula*, constitutes the subject of *visentur*. — **solo aequata**: *razed to the ground*. — **et** (before *desinit*): *also*.

2. Mundo . . . interitum: *i.e.* predict the final destruction of the world. This was a Stoic doctrine. — **et . . . dissipabit et . . . demerget**: *i.e.* so they say; note the shift in construction from the *oratio obliqua* that would naturally come after *minantur*. — **confusionem veterem**: primeval chaos. — **eat . . . et**: *i.e.* let some one, if he has the effrontery; cf. in English the colloquial use of "goes and does it," etc. — **Carthaginis . . . cinerem**, stock examples of particular disaster. — **si quid**: equivalent to *quicquid, whatever*; cf. *si qua*, above. — **hoc quod non habet**, etc.: *i.e.* the world, which has no place to which it can fall. — **tantum . . . nefas ausura**: *going to commit such a dreadful deed* as the destruction of the universe.

3. omnia: as before, object of *revocantis*, which agrees with *naturae*. — **ruinae**: dative of separation depending upon *subtrahat*. — **ipsi mundo**: depending upon *imminenti*.

4. quod gravissimum fecerat: the antecedent is *id*, understood, object of *fecisse*. — **crudelitatem . . . aequalitas**: note the carefully balanced order of the words.

II. Grief is of no practical use; yet so far as my own personal unhappiness allows I will join you in a complaint to Fortune, who has attacked you in your only vulnerable point.

1. Illud: *i.e. si cogitaveris.* — **nihil profuturum**: a reflection of the Stoic teaching that impulse should be controlled by reason. — **quicquid . . . superfuit,** etc.: note the gentle hint of Seneca's own situation. — **tuae**: sc. *fortunae.* — **fletibus domesticis**: *with tears for myself.* Yet Seneca had told his mother (*Consol. ad Helv.* xx.) to think of him in exile as *laetum et alacrem velut optimis rebus.*

2. Quid cessas? *Why do you hesitate?* The word *cesso* was particularly used of letting a case go by default in court. — **omnium iudicio**: *in the opinion of every one.* — **Fortuna**: vocative. — **eum hominem continuisse**: *to have preserved this man; i.e.* Polybius. — **effugeret invidiam**: *i.e.* the jealousy of men ; but Fortune at least was envious ; cf. § 7. — **salvo Caesare**: abl. abs.; by a conventional politeness which assumed that the death of Caesar would have been an even greater sorrow. — **bene . . . circuisses**: *had thoroughly reconnoitred his character.* — **hac parte**: *i.e.* on the side of his fraternal affection. — **patere**: sc. *illum.*

3. faceres: deliberative subjunctive; the tense shows that the question was past and no longer offered a possibility. — **illi obnoxius**: *dependent upon it.*

4. expediat: impersonal. The friendship of the powerful freedmen in Caesar's household was naturally much sought after.

5. ipsa: with *te, i.e.* Fortuna. — **liberalibus disciplinis**: note the Stoic significance given to this expression, — training which frees a man from bodily limitations.

6. spiritum: *life.* — **meliore sui parte**: *i.e.* in his immortal thoughts. Cf. Martial, X. ii. 8: *Et meliore tui parte superstes eris.* — **eloquentiae . . . operibus**: cf. chapters viii. and xi. — **quorum se ingeniis vel contulit vel . . . adplicuit**: *to whose genius he has made himself a rival or . . . has devoted himself;* a reference to his translations of Homer and Vergil. Cf. viii. 2 and xi. 5.

7. excogitasti, still addressing Fortune. The idea of the " envy of the gods" (ὁ φθόνος τῶν θεῶν) is further developed in the following, *quo melior . . . hoc saepius.* — **ferre te . . . sine ullo dilectu furentem**: *i.e.* showing your cruelty without any discrimi-

nation, ordinarily. But in the present case Fortune had even discriminated against her victim — **inter ipsa beneficia metuendam**: Fortune, like the Greeks, is to be feared even when bringing gifts. — **Quantulum erat**: *how easy it would have been!* — **ratione certa**: *with a definite plan,* and evidently because he deserved it; in contrast with *temere,* following.

III. The loss is the more grievous because the dead brother's character was so especially admirable. A renewed protest to Fortune, who has made Polybius mourn even while he enjoys the favor of Caesar.

1. Adiciamus: speaking once more directly to Polybius. — **qui ne ex indigno . . . fratre**: *i.e.* on your account if not on his, your brother ought to have been spared.

2. pietas: *family affection.* — **idoneam . . . materiam**: *a suitable object.* — **fratrem ulli minatus**: *i.e.* never threatened any one with what his powerful "big brother" would do. — **onus**: so because it was hard for them to live up to your standard.

3. Parum . . . indignari: *that I do not sufficiently express my sense of the injustice.*

4. turbam imminuere: *to break up a family group.* — **in nullo fratre degenerantem**: a family without a "black sheep." — **delibare**: *to pick out one of them.*

5. felicitatis . . . abstinentia: *self-control in the presence of unlimited opportunity for self- aggrandizement.* — **de ipsis . . . solaciis timet**: having been reminded by the death of one brother that the others also may be taken. — **Luget . . . propitio . . . Caesare!** The whole paragraph leads up to this exclamation.

IV. Again the futility of lamentation; men should at least do sparingly what they have to do so often.

1. causa: *i.e.* by making out a good case. — **inferis**: *to the dead,* like Polybius's brother. — **nobis**: dative of advantage; we might have expected *ad* with the accusative after *reducet.*

2. voto laborat suo: *is in trouble with that which he had desired to have.* — **vestibulum obsidens turba**: particularly of the clients who came to greet their patron.

3. primum . . . fletum: *i.e.* the first thing they do. Some texts have *omen* as an emendation for *hominum.*

V. Your grief, if your dead brother be aware of it, is no pleasure to him. You should be an example of fortitude to your other brothers.

1. Illud: cf. ii. 1.

2. Neminem . . . qui delectetur: a high compliment to Polybius's character. — **eum**: sc. *animum* (*quem nemo . . . gerit*): *Do you think this is your brother's disposition?* explained by the clause in apposition, *ut . . . velit abducere* e.q.s. — **cultum**: *respectful attention.* — **desiderio . . . esse**: *to be "missed."*

3. De alio fratre: an hypothetical one. — **sive . . . sive**: *if . . . or if.* — **utrique . . . inhaerentem**: *belonging to, i.e.* painful to, both of you. — **debet, velit**: observe the significance of the change of mood. — **In hoc**: sc. *fratre.* — **conturbat idem et exhaurit**: *the same thing* (*casus eius*) *causes to fill with tears and shed them.*

4. nihil aeque . . . quam si: *nothing so much . . . as if.* — **rebus adfectis**: *when their affairs are at a low ebb.* — **de industria**: *carefully.*

VI. Your conspicuous position and high responsibilities must prevent yielding to your private grief.

1. illa res: *i.e. si renuntiaveris.* — **subduci**: *be concealed.* — **Magnam . . . personam**: *an important part to play.* — **utrumne**: see G.L. 458, n. 1., and 460, 2, n. 3, on this double interrogative particle ; the usage is almost exclusively post-Ciceronian. — **rebus secundis uti dextere**: *to enact gracefully the rôle of prosperity.*

2. arma . . . steteris: a metaphor from the gladiatorial ring. — **Olim**: *i.e.* when you were promoted to your present position.

3. Non idem . . . quod: *i.e.* not the same free expression of your grief. — **Si volebas**: a simple past condition. — **ne convertisses**: hortatory subjunctive, past, contrary to fact: *you should not have turned.* — **tantum . . . praestandum est, quantum**, etc., *i.e.* you must "make good." — **cum fortuna tua opus non sit, ingenio opus est**: a compliment implying that Polybius's personal qualities were more important to his admirers than his position and power. — **custodes animi tui**: *i.e.* their admiration set a standard to which Polybius must live up.

4. adsidua laboriosi officii statione: *by constant standing at the post of arduous duty.* — **licent**: the plural of *licet* is unusual; Seneca uses it in nearly the same way in the *De Clem.* I. viii. 2,

and elsewhere. — **in angulo iacentibus**: contrast "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid."

5. arbitrio tuo: contrast *ex tuo arbitrio*, above. — **libelli**: *petitions*. The officer charged with receiving them was described as *a libellis*. — **congestus . . . exigendus est**: the accumulation must be examined, weighed, *i.e.* reduced to order; with *exigo* in this sense, cf. the colloquial "knock into shape." — **periclitantium**: *of those whose interests* (or *lives*) *are at stake*. — **mitissimi Caesaris**: evidently a part of Seneca's own appeal. — **siccare**: sc. *possis*.

VII. The thought of Caesar and his example and your duty to him is the greatest stimulus of all.

1. Haec: the considerations already given. — **cum voles . . . oblivisci, Caesarem cogita**: his service being so important a reason as to supersede all others in your mind. But there may be a covert gibe at the notorious forgetfulness of Claudius; cf. xiv. 1; also *Apoc.* xi. 1, and note. — **indulgentiae**: dative. — **incurvari**; *to bend* (under the burden); subject of *licere*. — **illi**: explained by the relative, *cuius umeris*, etc.; evidently Atlas, though Seneca seems to regard the myth as a doubtful one (*si quis . . . est*).

2. licent: cf. vi. 4. — **illius vigilia**, etc.: note Seneca's conception of the imperial responsibility. — **Ex quo**: sc. *tempore;* equivalent to a temporal conjunction. — **sibi**: dative of separation; see G.L. 345, REM. 1; B. 188, 2, *d*; A.G. 381; H.B. 371. — **(quicquam) suum**: *i.e. suo arbitrio*.

3. tibi . . . iniungitur: *is enjoined upon you*. — **Caesare . . . possidente**: equiv. to a temporal clause with *dum*.

4. Adice . . . quod . . . non est: on this use of the substantive clause with *quod*, instead of the accus. and infin. construction (of which in vulgar and late Latin it gradually took the place, even after verbs of saying), see G.L. 525. 1, and n. 7; B. 299. 1. *b*; A.G. 572; H.B. 552. 1. — **cum . . . praedices**: causal subjunctive. — **salvo Caesare, hoc incolumi, hoc salvo**: cf. ii. 2. — **Quod . . . abest**: relative referring to the clause, *parum gratus es*. — **quicquam**: object of *flere*.

VIII. Your most convenient antidote for sorrow, when you are not engaged with Caesar, will be in your literary work.

1. numen: *i.e.* Caesar. — **illa**: *tristitia.*

2. non est quod: lit. *there is no reason why.* — **patiaris**: subjunctive of characteristic. — **antistitem**: as Horace called himself "priest of the Muses" (*Carm.* III. 1, 3). — **vindicent**: as in the familiar legal phrase, *vindicare in libertatem, to liberate.* — **Homerus et Vergilius**, whom Polybius apparently had translated, the one into Latin, the other into Greek. Cf. xi. 5. — **pluribus notos**, etc.: *known to more than they had written for.* — **opera**: *res gestas.* — **domestico . . . praeconio**: *i.e.* by a "press bureau" in his own household. — **materiam**: especially his expeditions to Germany and Britain. — **exemplum**: Claudius's own literary work; particularly his histories; cf. *Apoc.* v. 4, and note.

3. Aesopeos logos: note the Latinized Greek word. Aesop's Fables were adapted into Latin by Phaedrus, who flourished under Tiberius, so that the author's reference to such a work as an *intemptatum . . . opus* has given the critics difficulty. Apparently Seneca was ignorant of Phaedrus, or ignored him to compliment Polybius, who had shown a taste for this sort of adaptation. — **hilariora studia**: *i.e.* of light literature. — **habeto**: observe the force of the tense. — **conroborati eius**: sc. *animi.* — **solutiora**: *more jovial.*

4. In illis: *i.e. severioribus scriptis.* — **avocabit**, etc.: *the very sternness of the subjects which it treats will distract the mind* (*eum*) *however morbid and reluctant it still is.* — **haec**: object of *feret.* — **sibi . . . constiterit**: *it has been restored to equanimity.*

IX. Mourning, if on your brother's account, is needless, since he is now either free from all sense of loss or else is actually happier than when on earth.

1. meo nomine: *on my own account.* — **perit indulgentiae iactatio**: *the display of tender feeling is lost, i.e.* is not real. — **incipit**: with complementary infin. *desciscere*, modified by *cum . . . respicit.* — **hoc uno excusatus**, etc.: is a generalization. — **a pietate desciscere**: *i.e.* ceases to be a matter of dutiful affection. — **nihil, ponere**: subjects of *convenit.* — **calculos ponere**: *to set counters* (on a counting board), *i.e.* to make a calculation of profit and loss in mourning for a brother.

2. alterutrum . . . iudicem: *that I should choose one of these alternative views.* Is Seneca's logic satisfactory?

3. ex diutino carcere: death is still often spoken of as a "release." — **eius**: objective genitive. — **beatum, nullum**: equivalent to conditional clauses modifying the object of *deflere*.

4. ingentibus . . . caruisse: *to have been deprived of great blessings, and at a time when they were especially available.* — **alienis processibus**: *to other men's successes.* — **cito . . . transferentis**: *who quickly shifts her favors.*

5. gratia: *influence* in the palace; abl. — **obstupescit**: *is overwhelmed with admiration.* — **et premunt**: *they also overburden.* — **ut nihil . . . timeatur**: concessive.

6. credere . . . intuentibus: *trust to those who look more profoundly into the truth.* — **proiecti**: agreeing with the subject of *consistimus, pendemus,* etc. — **mare**: the sea of life. — **allevans, deferens,** and **iactans**: modify *mare.* — **timemus**: sc. *naufragium.*

7. superstitem . . . habet: it was a common wish not to see the death of one's family or dearest friends, but to have them survive one; *e.g.* Ter. *And.* 487: *Deos quaeso ut sit superstes.* — **munera plena manu congerentem**: *and heaping her favors* (upon him) *with generous hand.* Cf. *Apoc.* iv. 2, and *Ep.* 33. 6, *plena manu.* — **reliquit**: sc. *frater tuus.*

8. ex humili atque depresso: sc. *loco*; *i.e.* this world. — **ille**: *locus.* — **beato . . . sinu**: cf. "Abraham's bosom." — **omnia rerum naturae bona . . . perspicit**, the Stoic beatitude.

9. illo . . . iter: *the way thither.* — **Non . . . sed antecessit**: "not lost but gone before."

X. You should be grateful that Nature has given you such a brother rather than resentful that she has taken him away.

1. Illud: (explained by the relative clause, the fact that you are of such a just character in all things) is the subject of *adiuvet.* ⟨*Ut*⟩ *illud . . . adjuvet* is the subject of *necesse est.*

2. danti non relinquit: *does not leave to the giver.* — **quod reddidit**: *what he has had to return.* Recall Job's acquiescence, "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord" (Job i. 21); cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii. 29, 54, *resigno quae dedit,* etc. — **non**: with both *adquiescit* and *iudicat.* — **in praeteritis**: sc. *bonis.*

3. habuisse . . . pro nihilo ducit: *reckons the having had them as of no value.*

4. Quod habuisti: an object clause. — **Non est quod cogites**: *you should not think.* Cf. the French, *il n'y a pas de quoi*, etc., and viii. 2, *non est quod . . . patiaris.* — **mancipio**: cf. *Ep.* 72. 7, *nihil dat Fortuna mancipio, Fortune gives nothing as a permanent possession.* — **commodavit**: *has lent*, as we say, "accommodated." — **cum visum est**: *when it seemed* ⟨*best*⟩. — **repetît**: perfect tense.

5. solvisse se moleste ferat: *should be angry that he has had to pay.* — **quae**: *i.e. natura.* — **non illa . . . sed . . . spes avida . . . in culpa est**: *is at fault.*

6. boni consule: cf. the colloquial expression, count it "all to the good." — **quod habuisti**: subject of *esse.* — **inter se consentaneum**: *consistent.* — **sibi . . . contigerit**: *has belonged to him.*

XI. You cannot say that your brother was taken away without warning, when the world is full of warnings that life is given only to be taken away.

1. inopinanti: sc. *mihi, inquis.* — **in eis**: *in the case of those objects.* — **mortalitatis**: obj. gen. — **necessitatis suae gratiam**: *exemption from her rule.* — **aliud agimus**: *i.e.* we pay no attention. — **rerum omnium**: vid. G.L. 374; B. 204, 1; A.G. 349, *a*; H.B. 347. — **precario**: adverb; by the favor of another (from *precor*), and hence, *on uncertain terms.*

2. Ego cum genui, etc.: the line is adapted from Ennius's tragedy of *Telamon* and refers to the dead Ajax, Telamon's son. Cf. Vahlen, Ennius, *Poes. Rel.*, p. 177, *Tel.* frag. ii. Cicero quotes the line in his *Tusculan Disp.* III. 13, 28. The story, however, is a common one, the saying with minor variations being ascribed to various persons, a Spartan mother (Cic. *Tusc.* I. 42, 102), Anaxagoras (ib. III. 24, 58, and Valer. Max. V. 10), Xenophon (Diog. Laert. II. 6, 10). — **mireris**: potential subjunctive. — **qui . . . posset**: a clause of characteristic, the antecedent being the understood subject of *natum esse; hoc* refers to the father. — **quid . . . novi**: *i.e.* it is not surprising.

3. rem: *a saying.* — **et huic rei**: *i.e.* for death; the words are a part of the verse from Ennius. — **sustuli**, referring to the custom by which a Roman father, in lifting his new-born child

up in his arms, accepted it as his and assumed the obligation of rearing it. — **cum reposcemur**: *when we are asked* (for it) *again.*

4. consulatibus, . . . triumphis: causal ablatives with *conspicuos.* — **defunctos**: sc. *esse;* the predicate. — **alio . . . atque alio tempore**: *one at one time, another at another.* Cf. the familiar passage in Horace, *Carm.* II. 3, 25: *omnes eodem cogimur,* etc.

5. utriuslibet auctoris carmina: *i.e.* the poems of either Homer or Vergil; cf. viii. 2, and note.

6. Ne commiseris ut: *do not act in such a way that.* — **exemplaris modo**: *as a model.*

XII. Turn from your grief to the consolations that are left to you, especially to the Emperor, the very sight of whom will be a protection against unhappiness.

1. hac tecum . . . decidit: *Fortune has come to terms with you in this particular; i.e.* has taken one brother and thereby indicated her intention of leaving you the others. — **plus . . . valere**: *to count for more.*

2. istos . . . perculsos: the members of Polybius's family, grief-smitten as well as he. — **quanto . . . tanto**: the doctrine of *noblesse oblige.*

3. Non desinam, etc.: here it begins to be "laid on with a trowel," but with infinite care. — **totiens**: as often as you renew your grief. — **melius beneficiis**: a hint, doubtless, that a kindness directed toward Corsica would be well received. — **numinis**: the imperial *consecratio* began thus, informally, before the Emperor's death; cf. viii. 1.

4. Ut . . . fecerit: concessive.

5. terris diu commodent: *long lend him to the world;* compare with these sentiments *Apoc.* iii. — **annos vincat**, etc.: cf. the modern form, *vive l'empereur.* — **nihil ex domo sua**, etc.: essentially the same sentiment which appears in *superstitem habet,* ix. 7. Oddly enough it amounts to the wish that Caesar may be the first of his family to die; but it was a familiar Roman preference. — **filium longa fide adprobet**: *i.e.* have a long opportunity to prove his son's fitness to succeed him; at this time Britannicus, of course, is meant. — **ante**: with *quam.* — **Sera . . . dies . . .**

qua ⟨sc. *die*⟩ **illum gens sua caelo adserat**: *late . . . be the day, on which his kindred* (Divus Iulius and Divus Augustus) *claim him for heaven.* The assonance of *sera* and *adserat* at the beginning and end is perhaps intentional, and with *nepotibus nostris* balanced against *gens sua* makes a whimsical sort of chiasmus. Cf. Horace's wish for Augustus (*Carm.* I. 2, 45), *serus in caelum redeas;* cf. also *me . . . adsere caelo*, Ov. *Met.* I. 761. As to Augustus's reception of Claudius in heaven, cf. *Apoc.* x.–xi.

XIII. A prayer for the Emperor, and hopes of his clemency.

1. nec . . . ostenderis: *nec* for *neve* with the prohibitive subjunctive; cf. G.L. 260; H.B. 464. 1, *b*. — **nisi ea parte qua prodes**: *except in the way of favoring him.* — **adfecto**: *suffering.* — **quicquid . . . concussit**: object of *restituere*, etc. — **prioris principis furor**: *i.e.* of Gaius (Caligula). — **Sidus hoc**: *i.e.* Claudius. — **praecipitato . . . orbi**: *dativus commodi*, with *refulsit;* cf. *Apoc.* iv. 1, line 27.

2. Germaniam: the German tribes, the Chatti and the Marsi, were defeated by Claudius's generals in the first year of his reign. — **Britanniam**: Claudius's conquest of southern Britain was already in progress, but was not yet completed. — **patrios triumphos ducat**: *let him lead captive in triumph the nations over whom his ancestors also triumphed.* — **me quoque spectatorem futurum**: evidently the vital point of the whole passage. — **clementia**: it is at least to be noted to Seneca's credit that he laid no less stress on clemency later when he himself was high in imperial favor. — **Nec . . . sic . . . deiecit, ut nollet erigere**: *i.e.* he has not necessarily condemned me for life. — **impulsum, cadentem, euntem**: sc. *me*, object of *sustinuit* and *deposuit.* He "let me down easily." — **usus**: participle governing *moderatione.* — **deprecatus est pro me senatum**: apparently Claudius in sending Seneca to Corsica mitigated some severer penalty which the senate had passed upon him. But there is no other authority for the statement. — **petît**: *petiit.*

3. utrumque in aequo . . . beneficium: *either solution will be equally his kindness.* — **cum**: causal. — **angulo**: *corner of the earth, i.e.* Corsica. — **complures . . . ruina obrutos**: *many who were long buried in exile.* — **ego . . . ne . . . erubescat**: *i.e.* I

will behave in such a manner that when he comes to the time for pardoning me, he can do so without any compunctions of conscience.

4. ad . . . conspectum pavent, lest the coming ship might bring news of a new punishment worse than mere exile. — **ut . . . ita**: correlatives, connecting the objects of *habent.* — **fulmina . . . iustissima**: we cannot take this as a confession of personal guilt on Seneca's part, but it marks about the lowest point in his present self-abasement; *vid.* p. xii. — **percussi**: *those whom the lightning has struck, i.e.* people who are suffering punishments.

XIV. Caesar will have already consoled you with instances of nobly borne bereavement in Roman history.

1. aut . . . aut: *i.e.* if I am not altogether mistaken. — **omnia exempla**: turning now to history, as in xi. 5 he had referred to the illustrations in literature. — **animi aequitatem**: *equanimity.* — **tenacissima memoria**: in allusion to Claudius's historical tastes; doubtless ironically also, since Claudius was ridiculously forgetful; cf. vii. 1, and the instance alluded to in *Apoc.* xi. 1. — **adsueta . . . facundia**: there is doubtless irony in this too, although Claudius was not without oratorical ability on a set occasion (Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 3 and Suet. *Claud.* 4). Cf. *Apoc.* v. 2, and note, on Claudius's stammering tongue.

2. aliud . . . pondus verba: *words will have an especial weight.* — **non te solum**, etc.: Caesar speaks. — **ad fastos . . . et annales**: presumably the *Fasti Consulares*, of which some existing fragments are known as *Fasti Capitolini*, inscriptions which recorded the chief magistrates of the successive years, and the *Annales Maximi*, records of the chief events of each year, posted in early times by the Pontifex Maximus.

3. imagines: the portrait masks, often of wax, which hung in the atrium of a great house and represented the ancestors of the family. — **Nulla non**: *every one.* — **in ornamentum saeculorum**: after *refulgentibus.*

4. Scipionem Africanum cui mors . . . nuntiata est: the accounts of this time, however, are conflicting. According to Livy (XXXVIII. 53–54) the conqueror of Hannibal died in his voluntary exile at Liternum some time before the death of his

brother, L. Scipio Asiaticus. — **eripuit fratrem carceri**: When L. Scipio, by command of one of the tribunes, was being taken to prison until he should pay the fine imposed upon him for the alleged misappropriation of money received from Antiochus, P. Scipio Africanus by force rescued his brother from the hands of the tribune's officer (*viatoris manibus*) and presently another tribune, Tiberius Gracchus (the elder) intervened to free L. Scipio from the sentence of imprisonment. — **carceri . . . fato**: datives of separation. — **impatiens iuris aequi**, etc.: according to one account, when L. Scipio, at the command of two tribunes, the brothers Petilii (187 B.C.), had prepared his accounting of the money he had received in Asia, Publius Scipio in the presence of the senate seized the document from his brother's hands and tore it in pieces, his fraternal regard (*pietas*) not enduring that the conqueror of Antiochus should have to stand trial as a criminal. — **viatoris**: *i.e. apparitoris.* — **tribuno . . . intercessit**: interfered with the acts of a tribune, *i.e.* resisted an officer of the law. — **Tam magno . . . quam**: cf. *tanto . . . quanto*, below.

5. Aemilianum Scipionem: son of Aemilius Paulus the conqueror of Macedon, but adopted by a son of Scipio Africanus the elder. His two younger brothers died within a short time of each other, at the time of their father's triumph. — **tanto animo . . . quanto**: *with just as much courage . . . as.* — **familiae . . . vastitatem**: *desolation of the household*, perishing in the very time of triumph. — **in hoc natus**: *born for this destiny.* — **Scipio**: *a Scipio*, some representative of the family in time of need. Scipio Aemilianus destroyed Carthage, 146 B.C.

XV. Further examples, especially in the imperial family, of men who did not yield to the sorrow of bereavement.

1. duorum Lucullorum . . . concordiam: Lucius Licinius Lucullus, the victor over Mithridates, and his brother Marcus, friends of the poet Archias. — **Pompeios**: the three most famous bearers of the name are meant, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, the triumvir, and his two sons, Gnaeus and Sextus. — **ut . . . conciderent**: in apposition with *hoc*. — **sorori superstes cuius morte . . . resoluta sunt**: the death of Sextus Pompey's stepmother, Julia, Caesar's daughter, did help to break up the first Triumvirate. Nothing

of the kind is recorded of Sextus's sister. His daughter was engaged in marriage to Octavius's nephew, Marcellus, while Sextus was negotiating with the members of the second Triumvirate; but the breaking off of the negotiations could scarcely have been caused by her death, for she is said later to have been married to another man, Scribonius Libo. — **superstes optimo fratri**: Sextus's brother Gnaeus was killed at Munda, while they were prolonging the resistance to Julius Caesar after their father's death. — **in hoc**: explained by the following clause. — **ne minus alte**, etc.: another evident reflection of the doctrine of the envy of Fortune; cf. ii. 7. — **sed etiam bello suffecit**: Sextus Pompey was defeated in a naval battle by Agrippa (36 B.C.) and was killed by some of Antony's lieutenants within the next year.

2. succurrunt: *occur to me.* — **paria**: substantive. — **nostrae domus exemplis**: *with instances from my own family history.* — **Fortunam . . . quam sciet . . . concupisse**: *the Fortune which he knows* (fut.) *to have desired the tears of the Caesars*, again in allusion to the divine envy.

3. Octaviam sororem: Augustus lost his sister 11 B.C. and delivered a funeral oration in her honor. Her own obstinate refusal to be comforted after the death of her son Marcellus, Seneca records in the *Consol. ad Marciam*, ii. — **ei**: dative of separation. — **rerum natura**: in the place of Fortuna. — **cui caelum destinaverat**: *i.e.* by way of apotheosis. — **sororis filium**: Marcellus; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 860 seq. — **generos**: Marcellus and afterward M. Agrippa. — **liberos**: *i.e.* his stepson, Drusus, and the two grandsons presently mentioned, whom he adopted. Augustus had no children of his own but Julia, who died after he did. — **nepotes**: C. and L. Caesar; see below. — **dum inter homines erat**: *i.e.* before his deification.

4. Gaius Caesar: not the Emperor Caligula, but the son of M. Agrippa and Augustus's daughter Julia. Both he and his brother Lucius were adopted by their grandfather Augustus; and among their early honors the title of *Princeps Iuventutis* was conferred upon them by the knights. Lucius died A.D. 2; Gaius about a year and a half later. — **volnere . . . corporis**: the wound was given by treachery in Armenia, and Gaius died soon after.— **quod utrumque**: both wounds, of mind and of body.

5. Ti. Caesar: the Emperor Tiberius. — **Drusum Germanicum**: Nero Claudius Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, and stepson of Augustus, was the father of the emperor Claudius. His death, 9 B.C., at the age of 30, was the result of a fall from his horse. The name "Germanicus" was given him after his death. — **intima Germaniae recludentem**: Drusus had defeated the Rhaetians and the Vindelici. — **modum . . . lugendi**: according to Suetonius (*Tib.* 7) Tiberius attended his brother's body all the way on foot from Germany to Rome. — **corpus**: object of *vindicantem.* — **Drusi sui**: the possessive shows the affectionate insistence of the soldiers. — **ad morem Romani luctus**: the restrained and dignified mourning that was according to Roman tradition.

XVI. Concluding examples of mourning in the Emperor's family. Fortune is obdurate, but let us pray that she will make an exception in Claudius's favor.

1. M. Antonius: the Triumvir. Antonia, his daughter by Octavia, was the mother of Claudius. — **eo**: *i.e.* Octavius. — **fratrem interfectum**: C. Antonius, after his capture by Brutus in Macedonia.

2. impotens: *wanton.* — **quales . . . tibi ipsa ludos facis**: *what sport you make for yourself!* — **lugere**: substantive infin.; *this was his mourning, to make a sacrifice to his brothers' 'manes' with the blood of twenty legions; parentare* is in apposition with *hoc.*

3. ut . . . taceam: *to say nothing about.* — **bis . . . fraterno luctu**: once for Germanicus; the other time for his sister Livilla. — **pii**: *affectionate.*

4. parentem publicum: a suggestion of Seneca's ideal emperor. — **Fortunae**: dative. — **ex eis penatibus**, etc.: from that household which contains men destined to be deified. — **ab illa**: *i.e. Fortuna.* — **potest enim . . . pulvinaria**: *can she whose insatiate cruelty has so often brought mourning to the very seats of the gods have any idea of fairness or kindness toward ordinary households?*

5. Faciamus licet, etc.: *although we make our reproaches to her not personally but as a nation.* — **se . . . exiget**: *she will go ahead, i.e.* do as she pleases. — **Hoc fuit . . . Fortuna**: *such Fortune has been.* — **domos . . . in quas per templa aditur**: *even daring to enter those houses into which the entrance is through temples.* The

imperial family was descended from men who were already worshipped as divine; perhaps Seneca had particularly in mind also the temple of Augustus which flanked the palace of the Caesars on the Palatine, and from beside which a stairway led directly up to it. — **atram . . . vestem**: the sign of mourning. — **laureatis**, referring to the constant decoration of the palace entrance.

6. Hoc unum: this one concession, explained by the following, *hunc principem . . . velit.* Seneca turns aside from the conclusion to which the logic of his argument would have led him, and makes an exception. — **si nondum illi . . . placuit**: *if she has not yet resolved.* — **lapsis hominum rebus datum**: *who has been granted ⟨for relief⟩ to the fallen estate of mankind.* Cf. the prophecy for Nero in the *Apoc.* iv. 1, line 23, *felicia lassis saecula praestabit.* — **sicut omnibus . . . sibi**, etc.: *i.e.* may she regard him as all mankind do.

XVII. Follow the example of these consecrated great ones of the past, who did not disdain the common lot; Caligula's example in grief is to be avoided.

1. proximos: *kindred* of the deified ones. — **per quos**: *by whose names.* — **in quantum modo . . . vestigia**: *so far as it is permissible for a man to follow in divine footsteps.*

2. in medio posita: *i.e.* accessible to every one. — **Optime . . . imitaberis**: *i.e.* you cannot do better. — **cum . . . possent**: concessive. — **ipsos**: instead of *se.* — **exsortes**: *exempt.* — **se . . . exaequari**: subject of *non esse iniuriam sed ius.*

3. hunc: *i.e.* Caligula. — **a quo**: depending on *adustum* and *eversum.* — **adustum**: *wasted;* lit. burned up. — **principis mitissimi**: *i.e.* of course, Claudius.

4. C. Caesar . . . Drusilla: Caligula's unseemly mourning for Drusilla was notorious. Her alleged apotheosis is referred to in *Apoc.* i. 3. — **principaliter**: *in a manner worthy of a prince.* — **iusta . . . praestitit**: *i.e.* he did not show her memory proper respect. — **in Albano suo**: sc. *fundo.* — **elevabat mala**: *he tried to alleviate the sorrows.*

5. furiosa inconstantia: *with wild caprice.* — **modo . . . summittens modo . . . permetiens**: sometimes showing his grief by letting his hair and beard grow uncut and sometimes by making

frenzied journeys; both of these manifestations are mentioned by Suetonius (*Calig.* 24). — **lugeri . . . an coli**: *mourned as a human being or worshipped as a deity.* — **pulvinaria**: couches for the divinity; equivalent in general to altars or shrines. — **eadem enim intemperie**, etc.: *for he bore the blows of adversity with the same extravagance of disposition with which when elated by prosperity he was puffed up beyond all human decency.*

6. exemplum: explained by *sevocare, inritare,* and *oblectare.* — **luctum**: the object of all three infinitives. — **alienis malis**: *other men's sufferings, i.e.* of the men whom he tortured for not looking sorry enough.

XVIII. Seek comfort in your favorite literary studies and make them an expression of love to your brother's memory. Keep your sorrow within reasonable bounds; make the recollection of your brother a pleasure rather than a pain; and if my consolations are inadequate, remember the limitations of my unhappy situation.

1. studia, quae: a testimony recalling Cicero's famous one in the oration for Archias, *haec studia . . . secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent,* etc.

2. aliquo scriptorum monimento: presumably this refers to a memoir of his brother; possibly, however, he merely means the dedication of some literary work to his memory. Perhaps also a play may be intended on the resemblance of the words *monimentum* and *munimentum* just before. — **cui nulla . . . vetustas**: cf. Horace, *Carm.* III. 30, 1, *monumentum aere perennius,* etc. — **non propagant longam diem**: *do not secure a long remembrance.* — **intereunt**: cf. i. 1. — **melius . . . consecrabis**: *it will be better for you to immortalize,* etc.

3. Quod ad ipsam Fortunam pertinet: *as to Fortune herself.* — **etiamsi nunc**, etc.: *even if her cause cannot now be pleaded with you; i.e.* you are in no mood to judge her fairly. — **ob hoc ipsum, quod**: *on account of the very fact that.* — **erit agenda**: sc. *causa.* — **dies**: *the lapse of time.*

4. noli adesse: in the technical sense of appearing as the *patronus* or defender in court; *do not encourage your grief.* — **parva . . . adprobare pro magnis**: like the sophists' trick of making the worse appear the better reason, confusing the relative importance

of things great and small. — **alio**: adverb. — **servet**: sc. *eloquentia tua.* — **hoc . . . ipsum**: *i.e.* the business of consolation. — **aliquid**: *i.e.* a certain amount of grief. — **vanitate**: *sentimentalism.* In *Ep.* 63, Seneca begins thus a consolation to Lucilius upon the death of a friend: *Moleste fero discessisse Flaccum amicum tuum, plus tamen aequo dolere te nolo.*

5. ex toto: *at all.* — **quosdam . . . viros**: evidently "Hard-shell" or "Middle-of-the-road" Stoics. — **sapientem**: the Stoic ideal.

6. Satis praestiterit ratio, etc.: *reason will have done enough if only she removes from grief that which*, etc. — **ut . . . patiatur**: *that it* (reason) *should not permit any* (grief) *to exist at all;* a subject clause. — **servet**: the subject is still *ratio.* — **piae mentis . . . nec motae**: *of a mind that is affectionate without being unbalanced.*

7. ut frequenter . . . velis, etc.: with this has been compared the strikingly similar sentiment in the last chapter of Tacitus's *Agricola: Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant*, etc. — **quod . . . poteris**: relative, referring to the preceding clauses, which are the objects of *effice.*

8. modestiam eius: *i.e. fratris tui.* — **tuto**: with possibly a shade of irony in the adverb; flattering prophecies could at least now never be discredited.

9. longo iam situ . . . animo: *with a mind exhausted and dulled by long rusting* (in exile); a parting appeal from the pathos of Seneca's own situation. — **parum respondere ingenio**, etc.: as Seneca said earlier (iii. 3), *nihil est difficilius quam magno dolori paria verba reperire.* — **quam non possit is . . . tenent**: *how he who is kept full of his own troubles cannot be free for the consolation of another.* — **Latina . . . verba succurrant**: *Latin words . . . suggest themselves.* Ovid under similar conditions complains that he has forgotten the Latin tongue in learning that of the barbarians among whom he lived (*Tristia*, V. *El.* xii. 57). — **barbaris . . . . gravis**: *distressing even to barbarians, of a less uncouth sort.*

APOCOLOCYNTOSIS

The Menippean satire[1] on the apotheosis of Claudius is found in most of its manuscripts and in the early editions under the not very exact title, *Ludus de Morte Claudii Caesaris*. In the best manuscript, that of Saint Gall (*Codex Sangallensis*, 569), it is called *Divi Claudii Apotheosis Annaei Senecae per saturam*. The title by which it is now generally known, we owe to an allusion by the Greek historian, Dio Cassius.

Dio says (LX. 35): "After Claudius's murder, Agrippina and Nero pretended to mourn, and sent up to heaven him whom they had carried out from dinner. This was the occasion of a very clever witticism by L. Junius Gallio, Seneca's brother. Seneca had composed a piece named Ἀποκολοκύντωσις after the analogy of ἀπαθανάτισις, but his brother expressed a great deal in a very few words. Recalling how the bodies of those who are executed in prison are dragged off by the executioners, with great hooks, to the Forum and thence to the river, he said Claudius had been dragged up to heaven with a hook. Nero's joke,[2] too, is worth recording. He said that mushrooms (μύκητες, *boleti*) must be food for the gods, since by eating them Claudius was made a god."

The burlesque word *Apocolocyntosis*, on the analogy of "apotheosis," may be likened to "pumpkinification" on that of "deification." The κολοκύντη (Latin, *cucurbita*) was a species of gourd which seems to have stood for a type and symbol of stupidity among the ancients, as the cabbage head[3] is with us. The fact that in the satire as we have it there is no question of turning Claudius into such a vegetable, is an evident difficulty in identifying this piece with the one mentioned by Dio; and a few critics

[1] *See* Introd. p. xxxi.

[2] Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 33.

[3] Compare the similar French colloquial use of the word *poire*.

have chosen to explain the word *Apocolocyntosis* differently, *tia* reference to a drug by which Claudius met his death, taki**id**: to suggest the consequences of a dose of colocynth (κολοι In Lat. *colocynthis*; Fr. *coloquinte*). One or two symptoms the are recorded of Claudius's dying hours tend to support this vie.. but the other interpretation of the title is the more generally accepted. It is possible, however, that Dio's tradition is inaccurate, and that an allusion to the pumpkin head which he associates with Seneca's satire really belonged to something else, or was, perhaps, a mere conversational epithet. There is a possibility also that the missing reference to the vegetable, which would explain Dio's title, was to be found at the end of the satire, which on account of the abruptness of the present conclusion some critics have thought to be lost, or in the undoubted lacuna before the eighth chapter, though it is by no means evident how the κολοκύντη could have been brought plausibly in; or else we may assume that the name, "Immortalization as a Pumpkin Head," was intended simply to have a suggestive application to the whole subject, like the titles of some modern novels. The piece appears to have been hastily written, in view of some minor discrepancies noted later.

The chief authorities for the life of Claudius are Suetonius (*Vita Divi Claudii*), Tacitus (*Annales*, Books XI.–XII.), and Dio Cassius (Book LX.). Claudius was the brother of Germanicus and hence the uncle of Gaius (Caligula), his predecessor. He had been an unhealthy, awkward boy, kept in the background all his early life by the heads of the family, amusing himself by dabbling in scholarship and other less creditable pastimes, when at the age of fifty, almost by accident, he was brought to the throne left vacant by Caligula's assassination. His reign of thirteen years was not without its merits. He was inclined to be conscientious and painstaking. But in many ways he was inept and eccentric,[2]

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 44: *excruciatumque doloribus tota nocte;* cf. Tac. *Ann.* XII. 67, and *Apoc.* iv. 3.

[2] In two other places besides the *Consolatio ad Polybium* Seneca makes brief references to Claudius's character, both of them quite consistent with the aspect of which the *Apocolocyntosis* shows a caricature. One is in the *De Clementia* (I. xxiii. 1, *q.v.*), criticising the pedantic legalism of

d he was notoriously under the domination of his freedmen and wives, particularly Valeria Messalina, his third wife, whose ıtious intrigues were the scandal of Rome, and Agrippina, his e and fourth wife, the mother of Nero by a former husband. The actual death of Claudius was caused by his eating of poisoned mushrooms provided for him by Agrippina's orders, and was hastened, it is said, by her officious physician, who under pretence of medical treatment really applied more poison. The story officially given out was that Claudius had died of a fever. He was deified, the first emperor since Augustus to receive this honor, by senatorial decree. The customary official eulogium was pronounced by Nero, but it was written by Seneca, who seems to have consoled himself shortly afterward, very likely at the Saturnalia which came only a few weeks later, by producing the present skit. This was probably designed for private reading in the imperial circle; Seneca's dislike of Claudius was well known,[1] and Nero and his mother, however prudently they attended to Claudius's deification, were under no illusions as to his divinity. In fact, the emperor who had been spared by his predecessor as a butt for ridicule,[2] was also, we are told, deified as a joke [3] by his youthful successor. To the latter, evidently, the damaging implications of Seneca's satire concerning the whole doctrine of the imperial apotheosis were without offence.

I. 1. ante diem III. id. Oct.: the date of Claudius's death as given by Suetonius (*Claud.* 45), Tacitus (*Ann.* XII. 69), and Dio (LX. 34). Mention of the year is unnecessary, the satire was composed so soon after the event. — **anno novo**: not in the ordinary sense, but like the following *initio saeculi*, of the happy beginning of Nero's reign. — **nec offensae nec gratiae**: *i.e.* the

Claudius's policy in punishing crime. The other is in the *De Beneficiis* (I. xv. 5), where Seneca quotes with approval a remark of Crispus Passienus, *Malo Divi Augusti iudicium, malo Claudii beneficium*, an evident reflection upon the reliability of Claudius's judgment.

[1] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XII. 8; XIII. 5, 14, and 42; Sen. *Apoc.* i. 1.

[2] *Nam Claudium patruum non nisi in ludibrium reservavit* ⟨Caligula⟩, Suet. *Calig.* 23.

[3] *Dicavit caelo . . . Claudium Nero, sed ut inriderct*, Pliny, *Panegyr.* 11.

account shall be wholly unprejudiced. — **liberum**: *i.e.* to speak my mind. The word seems also to have been familiar in colloquial usage for "as good as the next man." — **ex quo**: sc. *tempore*, as frequently in Seneca. — **verum**: predicate. Claudius had made the proverb true, in a sense, by showing that to be born a fool was a qualification for becoming a monarch. — **aut regem**, etc. apparently a popular saw, of which the remark in chapter xi., *Crassum . . . tam fatuum ut etiam regnare posset*, is a reminiscence. In reference to Claudius's stupidity, recall Nero's historic pun (Suet. *Nero*, 33) with the word *morari*, pronounced as if from μωρός (a fool), on Claudius's lingering in the world.

2. buccam: colloquial for *os*. — **iuratores**: assistants of the censors who received the sworn returns of the citizens. We are to understand that an historian doesn't have to take oath to all he says. — **Drusillam**: Julia Drusilla, Caligula's sister; on his extravagant mourning at her death, cf. *Consol. ad Polyb.* xvii. She received the honor of *consecratio*, and there are inscriptions addressed to her as a divinity. According to Dio it was Livius Geminius who testified to his fellow-senators that he had seen Drusilla taken up to heaven. He got 250,000 denarii for it. — **non passibus aequis**: from Verg. *Aen.* II. 724, with comic comparison to the "little Iulus." Cf. also *Apoc.* v. 2, and elsewhere, on Claudius's unsteady gait. — **Velit, nolit**: familiar for *sive velit sive nolit;* cf. our "willy nilly." — **et Divum . . . ad deos isse**: both emperors died in Campania and their bodies were taken to Rome for the funeral rites by this road. Only for Augustus was it precisely a route *ad deos*, for Tiberius was not deified; but the writer's courtesy is all-embracing.

3. soli: sc. *tibi*. — **verbis conceptis**: familiar for the precise language of an oath. — **certa clara**: *i.e.* "a plain unvarnished tale." — **ita illum . . . habeam**: a slight variant from the common colloquial form of asseveration, *ita me salvum habeam* or *ita illum propitium habeam* or the like; as now in children's imprecations, "I hope to die if it isn't so." Here the narrator is thinking with ironic sympathy of the dreadful evil which Livius Geminius had invoked upon himself if he did not speak the truth.

II. 1. Iam Phoebus . . . somni, etc: these lines in parody of poetical bombast are by way of indicating the autumn season.

The sun god had narrowed the period during which he rose above the horizon. — **Cynthia**: *i.e.* Diana of Mt. Cynthus, as moon goddess, was making the nights grow longer. — **visoque senescere Baccho**: *i.e.* it was in the latter part of the vintage.

2. si dixero, mensis erat October: note the colloquial parataxis, instead of the construction, *mensem esse Octobrem.* — **inter philosophos**: the slur recalls our "when doctors disagree"; observe that Seneca is joking at the expense of his own class. — **quam inter horologia**: water clocks were notoriously inaccurate.

3. Nimis rustice! inquies: you'll say that is too crude a manner of telling the time of day; it is the fashion to do it in more poetical language, — which follows, of course, in humorous exaggeration. — **Iam medium . . . orbem**, etc.: indicating the afternoon. — **fessas**: by metonymy agreeing with *habenas* instead of with the subject.

III. 1. animam agere: *to give up the ghost;* cf. Shakespeare, *Rich. III.* i. 4, where Clarence says

> "and often did I strive
> To yield the ghost; but still the envious flood
> Stopt in my soul, and would not let it forth," etc.

Suetonius (*Claud.* 44) says that Claudius's death was slow and painful. — **Mercurius . . . ingenio eius delectatus**: perhaps because of Mercury's fondness for chicanery, which Claudius had unintentionally encouraged; cf. xii. 2; perhaps because of Claudius's interest in oratory, or gambling, or commerce, which he had taken measures to promote. Besides, Mercury was conductor of the dead. — **unam e tribus Parcis**: Clotho; *vid. infra.* — **tam diu**: contr. *Consol. ad Polyb.* xii. 5. — **nec umquam . . . cesset**: *isn't he ever to get off?* deliberative subjunctive. — **Annus sexagesimus quartus**: so say Suet. *Claud.* 45 and Dio, LX. 34. — **Quid huic . . . invides**: *what grudge have you against him?*

2. Patere . . . verum dicere: *i.e.* by *ex post facto* veracity. Under Claudius a severe law had been passed against soothsayers (Tac. *Ann.* XII. 52), so that they had reason for wishing to see him dead. — **omnibus annis . . . efferunt**: *i.e.* bury. Claudius had been frightened several times in his life by prophecies of his death. — **horam . . . putavit**: the horoscope determining the

hour of his death would depend, of course, upon conditions at the time of his birth. The joke depends upon the fact that the latter clause was a common expression denoting contemptuous treatment; regarding a person as a nonentity; cf. *e.g.* Petron. 58, *qui te natum non putat.* — **dede neci**, etc.: from Verg. *Georg.* IV. 90, where it refers to the "king" of the hive, as the ancients called the queen-bee.

3. mehercules: this being originally a man's oath (women had the corresponding *ecastor* or *edepol*) was perhaps intended to give a raciness to the feminine side of the dialogue, as if a lady were to say "b' gosh" instead of "goodness gracious." — **pusillum, pauculos, capsulam**: diminutives for colloquial effect; cf. ix. 4. — **civitate donaret**: Claudius had been criticised for his lavish bestowal of citizenship. — **togatos**: *i.e.* Roman citizens. — **in semen**: to keep up the supply.

4. capsulam: *bandbox.* — **fusos**: familiar as an attribute of the Fates. — **Augurini**: unknown. — **Babae**: a notoriously stupid fellow, mentioned in *Ep.* 15. 9. Observe the initials, A. B. C., "in one-two-three order."

IV. 1. convolvens, etc.: *winding up the thread on* (Claudius's) *filthy shuttle.* — **abrupit . . . tempora**: *i.e.* the thread corresponding to the part of Claudius's life when he had been emperor. Strictly, this should have been done by Atropos. — **At Lachesis**: the Fate who spun out the events of each human life. These following lines are clearly irrelevant to the satire, though cutting the thread of one emperor's life not unnaturally suggests spinning that of his successor; they are evidently intended to gratify the young Nero. — **Pieria . . . lauro**: in compliment to the Apollo-like Nero. Mt. Pierus in Thessaly was sacred to the Muses. — **felici moderanda manu**: *to be fashioned with deft hand.* — **ducta**: *as they were drawn out.* — **aurea . . . descendunt saecula**: *a golden age is reeled off.* — **modus**: *limit.* — **illis**: the sisters. — **festinat**: sc. Lachesis. — **Tithonus** in mythology and **Nestor** in legend were types of old age; "as old as Methuselah." — **Phoebus adest**: in further compliment to Nero. — **intentas**: sc. *sorores.* — **fallit**: *beguiles.* — **laudatum**: *under the stimulus of praise.* — **mihi similis**: Nero's flatterers said that Apollo was jealous of Nero's voice. — **Felicia lassis saecula**, etc.: cf. Hor. *Carm. Saec.*

57 seq. — **legum silentia rumpet**: cf. xii. 2, and *De Clem.* I. i. 4, for similar intimations. — **Lucifer**: *Φωσφόρος*, the morning star, which comes as the other stars grow pale. — **Hesperus**: the evening star. — **qualis** (l. 27) modifies *Sol.* — **primos . . . axes**: the adjective instead of an adverb; cf. *fessas habenas*, ii. 3; *axes* for the chariot of the sun. — **a carcere**: *from the stall* which was the starting-point in a race course. — **talis Caesar**: Suetonius (*Nero*, 53) says that as Nero had rivalled Apollo in singing, he had resolved to rival Sol as a charioteer. — **flagrat**: by zeugma, *beams* with *vultus* and *is graced* with *cervix*. — **fulgore remisso**: *with a gentle effulgence*. — **adfuso . . . capillo**: *flowing locks*.

2. plena manu: a common phrase; cf. *Consol. ad Polyb.* ix. 7. — **de suo**: *from her own supply*. — **χαίροντας**, etc.: *with joy and congratulation to escort* (him) *out of doors*, a trimeter verse preserved to us elsewhere in a fragment of five lines from Euripides's lost tragedy of *Cresphontes*. Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* (I. 48, 115) gives a Latin version of them. Cf. Nauck. Eurip. Frag. 452. — **animam ebulliit**: a slang expression comparable to "went up the flume"; he sent his soul up like a bubble. — **ex eo**: sc. *tempore*. — **desiit vivere videri**: cf. v. 4, *visus est quasi homo*. — **comoedos**: evidently a reference to the actors who were introduced by Agrippina (Suet. *Claud.* 45) ostensibly to entertain Claudius, after he was in fact dead. — **non sine causa illos timere**: speaking, for the moment, as if they had bored Claudius to extinction.

3. vae me: for the more classical *vae mihi;* apparently a symptom of plebeian syntax.

V. 1. excidant: *i.e.* be forgotten. — **fides penes auctorem erit**: *i.e.* it is on the authority of the narrator, — a stock phrase when an historian wishes to say that he follows his sources and disclaims responsibility. Seneca himself (*Nat. Quaest.* IV. iii. 1) says that historians do this especially when they are telling the greatest lies.

2. bene: colloquial for *very* (*valde*), like the French *bien*. — **minari**: a jocose interpretation of the *caput . . . tremulum* to which Suetonius (*Claud.* 30) refers. — **pedem . . . trahere**: Claudius's knees were shaky (Suet. *ibid*). — **Quaesisse se**: referring to the messenger (perhaps the door-keeper, *ianitor*, of Heaven)

implied in *nuntiatur*. — **respondisse**: *i.e.* the newcomer, Claudius. — **perturbato sono**, etc.: in allusion to Claudius's defective utterance. Suetonius (*Claud.* 4 and 30) and Dio (LX. 2) speak of his stammering; note other allusions to it in the *Apoc.* — **nec Graecum esse**: sc. *eum*.

3. quorum hominum: *i.e. cuius nationis.* — **ut qui . . . timuerit**: a clause probably best to be taken as ironically causal; Hercules, as a man who wasn't afraid of all the (*i.e.* any) monsters, was promptly frightened by this one. — **Ut vidit . . . faciem . . . vocem**: zeugma. — **tertium decimum laborem**: Hercules' "twelve labors" had had chiefly to do with monsters.

4. intuenti: sc. *Herculi*. — **Graeculo**: "Greekling" is the classic diminutive in English. This probably means Hercules, at whom almost as much fun is poked as at Claudius. — **τίς πόθεν**, etc.: *Who and whence art thou and where are thy city and parents?* The verse is from Homer, *Od.* I. 170. — **philologos homines**: literary people; more precisely the *philologus* was a species of antiquary who studied literary texts, a person *multiplici variaque doctrina* (Suet. *de Grammaticis*, 10). Cf. Seneca's characterization of them in *Epist.* 108, 24. and 30. — **historiis suis**: Claudius's historical writings, both in Latin and Greek, are enumerated by Suetonius (*Claud.* 41–42). Several citations from them, chiefly by Pliny in the *Natural History*, are gathered in Peter's *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, pp. 295–296. — **et ipse Homerico versu**: Claudius's fondness for Greek quotations, especially from Homer, was extreme. Cf. Suet. *ibid* and Dio Cass. LX. 16. — **Ἰλιόθεν**, etc.: *A wind bearing me from Ilium has cast me among the Cicones;* from the *Odyssey*, IX. 39. The professed descendant of Aeneas might poetically claim to have been brought among the barbarians, as the Romans would be from the Homeric point of view. — **Erat autem**, etc.: evidently an aside by the narrator. — **ἔνθα δ' ἐγώ**, etc.: *There their city I wasted; the people I slaughtered.*

VI. 1. imposuerat: he would have succeeded in imposing upon. This sense of the word, now so familiar, was colloquial, as indeed is the whole dialogue between the comic Hercules and the disputatious fever goddess. — **Herculi minime vafro**: the gullibility of Hercules is illustrated also by Ovid (*Her.* ix. 113). The hero himself had been received from earth to heaven; hence, perhaps, his

easy sympathy. — **Febris**: apparently the well-known Roman fever, according to the officially reported cause of Claudius's death. As a goddess she had a sanctuary on the Palatine. — **ceteros . . . reliquerat**: perhaps in compliment to the new régime. But they presently appear to be in heaven. — **Ego tibi dico**: note the vulgar emphasis. — **tot annis**: apparently the ablative of time instead of the accusative of duration was commoner in the *sermo vulgaris* than in literature. It is usual on plebeian tombstones. That Fever's constancy had early undermined Claudius's health is recorded by Suetonius (*Claud.* 2 and 31). — **Lugudunі natus**: cf. Suet. *Claud.* 2 and Dio, LIV. 36. The campaign against the Germans had called Claudius's parents, Drusus and Antonia, to the north, 10 B.C. — **Marci municipem**: the text here is doubtful. The name *Planci*, from L. Munatius Plancus, one of the founders in 43 B.C. of the Roman colony at Lugudunum, has been substituted by some editors for *Marci*. Mark Antony the triumvir has been suggested, coins bearing his name having been struck at Lugudunum while he had the government of Gaul. Bücheler thinks Marci to be a corruption of a Gallic name. Wachsmüth suggests reading *Maricci*, from the Gaul, Maricous, who at a later date made trouble in this same locality (Tac. *Hist.* II. 61). — **ad sextum decimum lapidem**: Vienna, sixteen miles from Lugudunum, was a rival town in Gallia Narbonensis. — **quod Gallum facere oportebat**: evidently an allusion to the historic capture by Brennus. — **ego tibi recipio**: *I assure you;* like the Greek ἀναδέχομαι, *I take the responsibility* for the statement. — **Licinus**: a native Gaul, a slave and freedman of Julius Caesar, and by Augustus appointed procurator (cf. *regnavit*) of Gallia Lugudunensis, where he was notorious for his extortion and tyranny. His name became proverbial for a rich parvenu; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 119, 9; Persius, ii. 36; Juv. i. 109 and xiv. 306; Martial, VIII. 3, 6, etc. — **multis annis**: cf. *tot annis* above. — **plura loca calcasti**: cf. v. 3, *Herculem qui . . . pererraverat.* Hercules was a famous knight errant. *calcasti: have tramped.* Bücheler, however, thinks that *tu autem* means Claudius, referring to his expedition to Britain. — **perpetuarius**: *wandering.* The word is of a formation common in the *sermo vulgaris*, and seems to mean a muleteer who went all the way with his em-

ployer, — not merely for a stage of his journey. It was natural enough to speak of a *mulio . . . Lugudunensis* in particular; if Claudius is meant, it would be "muleteer of your native town." — **Xanthum et Rhodanum**: the rivers at Ilium and Lugudunum.

2. Excandescit: *blazed up.* Suetonius (*Claud.* 30) speaks of Claudius as *ira turpior.* — **quanto . . . murmure**: cf. v. 2, *perturbato sono.* — **duci iubebat**: *ducere* was the usual word for leading away to prison or execution; cf. *Narcissus duci iusserat*, xiii. 4. — **solutae** ("limp") **manus**: Dio (LX. 2) refers to Claudius's trembling hands. — **decollare**: *to behead;* properly to remove (a burden) from the neck. Suetonius (*Claud.* 34) discusses Claudius's taste for this sort of thing. — **illi**: *i.e. Febri.* — **omnes**: yet only Hercules and Fever have been mentioned as present. — **illius**: *i.e. Claudii.* — **adeo . . . curabat**: *so little attention did any one pay him;* Claudius's subservience to his freedmen has been noted.

VII. 1. fatuari: from *fatuus*, a fool. — **ubi mures ferrum rodunt**: apparently a proverbial expression. Herodas (iii. 75–76) in his Διδάσκαλος (*Schoolmaster*) speaks of a land where mice commonly eat iron, —

ὅκως χώρης
οἱ μῦς ὁμοίως τὸν σίδηρον τρώγουσιν,

as a place of such wretchedness that the mice ate iron for lack of other food. Of the island of Gyaros, to which Roman emperors often sent exiles, Antigonus of Karystos said in earlier times, ἐνταῦθα οἱ μύες διατρώγουσι τὸν σίδηρον — there the mice eat iron; and Pliny (*Nat Hist.* VIII. 57, 222) alludes to the same thing. Whatever the exact application of the proverb, it evidently means that trouble was ahead for Claudius. — **Citius** etc.; sc. *dic.* — **ne tibi alogias excutiam**: *or I'll knock the nonsense out of you.* The word *alogia* came from the Greek by way of the vulgar speech rather than literature. — **tragicus fit**: struck a tragic attitude, and declaimed in iambic trimeter.

2. sede . . . cluas: *of what place you are called a native. cluas* is from the Greek κλύω, in Latin more usually of the second conjugation, but not thoroughly classical. — **hoc . . . stipite, haec clava**: Hercules's familiar big stick. — **profatu vocis incerto**: Claudius mumbles an interruption. — **mobile**: *shaky;* cf. *minari* and *caput movere* in v. 2. — **regna . . . longinqua**: in

Spain. — **tergemini . . . regis**: Geryon, who, according to the myth, had three bodies. Hercules drove his cattle to Argos, the city of Inachus, by way of Gaul. — **duobus . . . iugum**: the hill on which Lugudunum was situated at the junction of the Rhone and the Saône. — **Phoebus ortu**: the sun at his rising opposite. — **Ararque dubitans**: recall Caesar, *B.G.* I. 12, on the sluggishness of the Saône. — **spiritus tui**: *of your life.*

3. Haec satis animose, etc.: Seneca speaks in the *De Ira* (I. 20) of the inner weakness of angry bravado. — **mentis suae**: subjective genitive; Hercules' manner was not the true expression of his mind. — **μωροῦ πληγήν**: *stroke of the crazy man*, a parody on the proverbial *θεοῦ πληγή* of Greek tragedy, denoting a sudden stroke of irresponsible fate. — **virum valentem**: the phrase, as if it were "would-be strong man," probably had a somewhat comical sound to a Roman ear. The use of participles in *-ns* as adjectives marks a plebeian tendency. — **oblitus nugarum**: *forgetting his nonsense;* the expression occurs repeatedly in Petronius. — **idem gratiae**: the same advantage. — **gallum in suo sterquilino**, etc.: proverbial; cf. our expression, "cock of the walk." The pun on Claudius's Gallic birth is obvious.

4. te . . . mihi adfuturum: *that you would stand by me*, commonly used of a legal *advocatus*. — **notorem**: one who vouches for a person's identity; a post-Augustan word. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 39, 1: *qui notorem dat ignotus est.* — **tibi ante templum tuum**: perhaps before Hercules' temple at Tibur, where Augustus was said to have been fond of holding court (Suet. *Aug.* 72). The tautological use of the ethical dative, *tibi* (besides *tuum*), is colloquial. — **totis diebus mense Iulio et Augusto**: on Claudius's exaggerated faithfulness to his judicial duties *vid.* Suet. *Claud.* 14; Dio, LX. 4, etc. July was the regular month for vacation from court sessions, and August contained many holidays.

5. quantum . . . contulerim: the gathering of woes in the law courts, compared to the filth of the Augean stables. — **causidicos**: a contemptuous word, somewhat like pettifogger, shyster. — **cloacas Augeae**: the scene of Hercules' cleansing effort is otherwise described as *bubile*, cow stable, *ovilia*, sheepfold, etc. — **Sed quoniam volo**: perhaps here Claudius begins his more successful appeal. All the manuscripts break off abruptly, and there is

evidently a gap of at least one leaf in the archetype from which they are all derived.

VIII. 1. **Non mirum quod . . . fecisti**: the changed situation indicates something of what must have intervened. One of the members of the Olympian assembly, which seems to be organized after the pattern of the Roman senate, is speaking, presumably to Hercules, whom Claudius has induced to be his advocate. The unsophisticated champion has brought his protégé into the curia and stated his desire that he be admitted into the celestial fellowship. He is met with some unparliamentary reproaches, the beginning of which is lost. — **clausi**: partitive genitive. — **Ἐπικούρειος θεὸς**, etc.: *he cannot be an Epicurean god* ⟨who⟩ *neither has any bother himself nor occasions any to others.* Claudius would be excluded by either specification. The phraseology of the definition may be variously paralleled, *e.g.* in Cicero, *de N.D.* I. 17, 45; cf. id. *de Off.* III. 28. — "**rotundus**" . . . **ut ait Varro**, etc.: very likely in one of his *Saturae Menippeae* (cf. Bücheler, *Varronis Menipp. Reliq.* 583). The words would fit the iambic *senarius*. Cf. Cic. *de N.D.* I. 15, 39, for a dignified outline of the Stoic conception of God as a universal all-pervading force, in some sense identified with the complete world itself. The word *rotundus* was an effort to make the idea objective, which sometimes resulted in a joke. The added details in Varro's description, Bücheler suggests, are in playful allusion to the roadside Hermae, simple columns except for the members named. In *Ep.* 113, 22–25, by way of reducing to an absurdity the mooted proposition that the virtues are living beings (*animalia*), Seneca raises the question what shape they have — "round, like that of a god?" — and soon jocosely demonstrates that a good verse is likewise an "animal": *ita 'arma virumque cano' animal est, quod non possunt rotundum dicere, cum sex pedes habeat.* — **Stoici dei**: with *aliquid.* — **nec cor nec caput habet**: this much of simplification at least. The words were more or less proverbial; cf. Liv. *epit.* L, *nec caput nec pedes nec cor habere*, and instances in Petron. 59 and 63, and Mart. VII. 78, 4.

2. **mehercules**: the oath, "by Hercules," to his face. — **hoc beneficium**: *i.e.* admission to heaven. — **cuius mensem . . . Saturnalicius princeps**: *i.e.* Claudius; as we might say, this "Lord

of Misrule." Claudius's love of feasting was notorious (Suet. *Claud.* 32–33). Perhaps, also, since in the Saturnalia slaves were temporarily on an equality with their masters, here is an allusion to the influential position of Claudius's freedmen. When Narcissus went to make a speech to the mutinous soldiers of A. Plautius (Dio. LX. 19), they shouted, *Io Saturnalia.* Cf. xii. 2; also Petron. 44, *semper Saturnalia agunt; vid.* Sen. *Ep.* 18, 1, for a striking parallel. — **non tulisset illud**: *he wouldn't have got it.* — **quantum . . . in illo fuit**: *so far as in him lay.* — **damnavit incesti**: by implication, for Jove was guilty of what Silanus was charged with; cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 46, *Iovis et soror et coniunx.* — **generum suum**: L. Junius Silanus Torquatus was betrothed (not married) to Claudius's daughter Octavia. When Agrippina wished Nero to marry Octavia, Silanus was accused of incest by Vitellius, and he committed suicide on the day of the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina, 49 A.D. — **sororem suam**: Junia Calvina. She seems to have been imprudent; as Tacitus says (*Ann.* XII. 4), *sane decora et procax.* — **Venerem vocarent**: because she was so lovely. — **Iunonem**: *his Juno.* — "**Quare**," **inquis**, etc.: Hercules apparently interposes with a question in justification of Claudius's strictness. — "**quaero**": cf. the frequent insertion of *rogo* in Petronius's dialogue; and the English ejaculation "I say!" **Athenis**: Cimon's marriage with Elpinice is the familiar example of marriages with a half-sister. — **Alexandriae**: as in the marriages of the Ptolemies.

3. "**Quia Romae**," **inquis**: another interruption by the objector in Claudius's favor. — **mures molas lingunt**: *the mice eat consecrated meal;* apparently proverbial, but as to its meaning the critics are far from agreement. It is evidently a defence of Claudius, and perhaps means that at Rome both mice and men are so finically careful that Claudius had to apply a strict standard. — **Hic nobis curva conriget**: an ironical allusion to Claudius's censorship; cf. *De Clem.* II. vii. 5, on a prince's duty to seek *quo modo in rectum prava flectantur.* — **Quid in cubiculo . . . nescit**: *he doesn't know what he has going on in his own home;* perhaps referring to the debaucheries as to which Messalina had kept him hoodwinked. It would be easier to apply it to the fact that Claudius's own marriage to Agrippina, his niece, was *contra fas;* but since

this would reflect upon her as well, Seneca can hardly have intended it in that way. — **caeli**, etc.: from a familiarly quoted line of Ennius's lost tragedy of *Iphigenia*, *Quod est ante pedes nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas;* Vahlen ed. *Enn. Poes. Reliq.* p. 160. — **templum in Britannia**: one at Camulodunum is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* XIV. 31). — **μωροῦ εὐιλάτου τυχεῖν**: *to find him a placable crazy man*, a parody on wishes that a god might be propitious; cf. **μωροῦ πληγήν** vii. 3.

IX. 1. privatis . . . mœrantibus, etc.: apparently an allusion to a rule of the Roman senate; *licere* is the subject of *venit.* — **Ego** contrasted with *vobis* and *vos.* — **P. C.**: in jocose comparison to the *patres conscripti* of Rome. — **mera mapalia**: *simply rubbish*, stuff and nonsense. *mapalia*, according to Festus, originally designated a kind of African (Punic) huts, but it had become proverbial in the derived sense. — **Hic**: Claudius.

2. Illo dimisso: apparently Claudius was sent out in conformance with the rule. But at the end of the next chapter Augustus addresses him directly as if he were still present. — **interrogatur sententiam**: the retained object is particularly common in this expression. — **Ianus pater**: partly perhaps in view of his character as god of openings, but conventionally because the *consul designatus* was regularly thus called upon first; cf. *e.g.* Sall. *Cat.* 50. — **postmeridianus consul**: perhaps a mere joke upon the ludicrously short honorary consulships that were becoming common. But July 1 was a usual date for the entering of *consules suffecti* upon their office, and *postmeridianus* may indicate the second half-year, as we say "the afternoon of life"; Seneca alluded to his own old age as *postmeridianas horas*, *Nat. Quaest.* III. praef. 3. — **ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω**: *at once both before and behind*, referring to the two-faced Janus; quoted, however, from the *Iliad*, III. 109, where the aged Priam is described as looking both to the past and the future. — **diserte quod in Foro vivebat**: the Arcus Ianus was on the north side of the Forum, a good place for acquiring fluency. — **notarius**: the stenographer. Shorthand writing (*Notae Tironianae*) was common enough so that the business of the *notarius* was a well-defined one, and the term occurs in sepulchral inscriptions as well as in literature.

3. hunc . . . honorem: *i.e.* deification. — **iam famam mimum**

fecisti: *you* (apparently addressing Hercules) *have made the distinction a farce*, a "by-word." Suetonius (*Cal.* 45) alludes to Caligula's sham victory over the Germans as a *mime*, and Terence (*Eun.* 300) speaks of somebody as a "joke" (*ludum iocumque*). It has been very ingeniously maintained that the text should read *fabam mimum fecisti*, in view of Cic. *ad Attic.* I. 16: *Videsne consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio antea ἀποθέωσιν vocabat, si hic factus erit, fabam mimum futurum?* On this theory the "Bean Mime" is a title. Birt cites the Φακῆ (*Lentil-pottage*) of Sopater, and thinks that the ἀρούρης καρπός means *faba;* hence that Janus wished to avert all the bean-eaters from divinity, meaning by these the persons in the farce. — **censeo**: as in the Roman senate it was customary to end a speech with a formal resolution. — **ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν**: *eat the product of the cornland; Iliad*, VI. 142. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. 14, 10, *quicumque terrae munere vescimur.* — **quos alit ζείδωρος ἄρουρα**: *whom the fertile cornland feeds; i.e.* all mankind. The combination ζείδωρος ἄρουρα appears repeatedly in Homer. — **Qui contra hoc s.c.**: another conventional feature, the *sanctio* of the proposed *senatus consultum.* — **Laruis**: evil spirits, supposed to be the souls of the wicked dead not permitted to rest in the other world and returning to torment evil-doers in this. In popular speech they served as do our "hobgoblins" and "bogie man." — **proximo munere**: *at the next games.* — **auctoratos**: *hired gladiators.* — **vapulare**: in the *sermo vulgaris*, to *get a licking*, a common feature in the training of raw recruits for the gladiatorial ring.

4. Diespiter Vicae Potae filius: the identity of this god is by no means clear; certainly he was not the Jupiter who has just figured as the presiding officer, the cosmopolitan Zeus to whom poets gave the name Diespiter as god of the sky; presumably he is the old Italian Jupiter, god of the daylight, traces of whose worship appear in the rites of the *Fetiales* which Claudius had recently revived. But Seneca perhaps had in mind the popular confusion of Diespiter with Pluto (Dis or Dispiter) and of Pluto with Plutus, the god of wealth (which comes from the ground; cf. Cic. *de N.D.* II. 26, 66), in view of his description of Diespiter as a money-changer. Vica Pota, a little-known goddess whose temple stood *infra Veliam*, was commonly identified with Victory (deriv. *vincendi atque*

potiundi, Cic. *de Leg.* II. 11, 28). It has been suggested that she was Fortuna (the mother of Plutus, according to Phaedrus IV. 12, 5); and also, by a quite different explanation, she has been identified with Cybele, the "Great Mother" (*vid.* Hoeing in *Am. Jour. Philol.* xxiv. pp. 323–326). Old-fashioned gods like Diespiter doubtless seemed quaint enough to Romans of Seneca's time to suggest themselves for caricature. And in the practices ascribed to Diespiter it is probable that some freedman of Claudius is satirized. — **nummulariolus**: a comic diminutive from *nummularius*, a word of a common plebeian type. — **hoc quaestu**: *i.e. nummularii*. — **vendere civitatulas**: another diminutive for comic effect. The gibe is plainly at the venality of public preferments in Claudius's day; recall also (iii. 3) *dum . . . civitate donaret*. — **auriculam illi tetigit**: as we should say, "gave him the wink." But touching the ear was a regular sign of summons as a witness; cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. 9, 77. Diespiter is thus admonished to stand by his fellow-trader in citizenships. The diminutive *auricula* is quite classical, but the effect of three such forms in quick succession is noticeable.

5. **Divus Claudius**: the Roman senate had already decreed the title. — **Augustum . . . nec minus Divam Augustam**: the latter even more, in fact; Claudius's father, Nero Claudius Drusus, was the son of Diva Augusta (Livia) by her first marriage; Claudius's mother, Antonia Minor, was a daughter of Octavia, Augustus's sister. — **quam ipse . . . iussit**: as stated in Suet. *Claud.* 11 and Dio, LX. 5. — **e re publica**: *to the public interest*, in regular senatorial phraseology. — **ferventia rapa vorare**: *devour boiling-hot turnips* (instead of ambrosia), a hint at Claudius's voracity; the words form the end of a hexameter verse, the source of which is unknown. But an epigram of Martial (XIII. 16) alludes to the fact that Romulus in heaven eats turnips, the rustic fare of his time on earth. — **censeo uti**, etc.: note the change of structure from *uti . . . sit* to *rem . . . adiciendam (esse)*. — **ad Metamorphosis Ovidi**, where Romulus's and Julius Caesar's apotheoses were already included, *Met.* XIV. 815; XV. 745.

6. **sententiam vincere**: on the analogy of *causam vincere*. — **ferrum suum in igne esse**: *i.e.* he was striking while the iron was hot. — **modo . . . illuc**: *i.e.* to different members of the assembly.

— **mea res agitur**: *I am personally interested in this affair.* — **manus manum lavat**: *one hand washes the other.* This same proverb occurs in Petronius (45) and in varied forms in Greek.

X. 1. **sententiae suae loco dicendae**: *i.e.* when his turn came. Some of Augustus's early opinions upon Claudius are quoted by Suetonius (*Claud.* 4); they are not flattering. Cf. *Consol. ad Polyb.* xii. 5, *illum gens sua caelo adserat.* — **pudor**: it was a question of family pride.

2. **In hoc**: *for this?* Then follows the familiar form of summary of Augustus's achievements, from the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti.* — **terra marique pacem**: cf. *De Clem.* I. ix. 4. — **legibus urbem fundavi**: practically a quotation from Verg. *Aen.* VI. 810, where, however, the statement, in the future, refers to Numa. — **ut** —: aposiopesis. — **Messalae Corvini . . . sententiam**: the words here quoted seem to refer to an occasion in 25 B.C. when the distinguished senator, M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, was appointed by Augustus as the first prefect of the city, but soon resigned (Tac. *Ann.* VI. 11), apparently in disgust at his new duties. A fragment from Suetonius quotes him as intimating that the office was unconstitutional. It is a sardonic humor which puts a recollection that must have been so unpleasant to Augustus into his own speech. — **pudet**: sc. *me.*

3. **tam facile . . . quam**: among other proverbs for things easy to do, like our "as easy as falling off a log," cf. Plaut. *Most.* 559, *Tam facile vinces quam pirum volpes comest,* — "as easily as a fox swallows a pear." — **Non vacat . . . intuenti**: sc. *mihi.* — **domestica mala**: *i.e.* the people he has killed in my own family. — **illa**: *i.e. publicas clades.* — **etiamsi soror mea nescit, ego scio**: **ἔγγιον γόνυ κνήμης**: *I know, even if my sister doesn't know* (as they say in Greek), *my knee is nearer than my shin.* The proverb, which is Bücheler's correction here for an unintelligible string of Greek letters in the Mss., appears several times in ancient Greek proverbial collections. Cf. Plautus's *tunica propior palliost* (*Trinum.* 1154), "my shirt is nearer than my coat." The sense of the quotation is plain, after Augustus's reference to his *domestica mala:* he cared most for the troubles that were nearest him. The point of the statement, *soror mea nescit,* seems to depend upon some fact unknown to us. Octavia had shown an almost per-

verse sensitiveness to her personal grief when Marcellus died (cf. *Consol. ad Marc.* ii.); there may have been something in that incident to which her brother alludes. Or possibly Octavia, who was Claudius's maternal grandmother, had been less pessimistic as to his youthful capabilities than had Augustus and Livia (cf. Suet. *Claud.* 3–4).

4. sub meo nomine latens: as all the emperors took the name of Augustus; Claudius in particular used commonly to take oath *per Augustum* (Suet. *Claud.* 11). — **duas Iulias**: both were the victims of Messalina's machinations. It was Julía Livilla (daughter of Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius), with whom Seneca was involved in the charge which caused his banishment as well as her own, in which she perished (*fame occisa*). The other Julia was the daughter of Tiberius's son Drusus. — **abnepotem L. Silanum**: already mentioned in viii. 2, q. v. His mother was Aemilia Lepida, a granddaughter of Augustus's daughter Julia. — **Videris Iuppiter an . . . si aecus futurus es**: *you are under observation, Jupiter, as to whether, in a bad case, — and certainly one in which you are interested, — whether you are going to be just.* As the text stands it is evidently bad grammar. But the use of the indicative in the indirect question is characteristic of the vulgar syntax; cf. *dic . . . quare . . . damnasti*, following. The repetition of the interrogative particle (*an, si*) may be colloquially explained by the insertion of the parenthetical *certe in tua*, after which the speaker resumes his inquiry. — **causa . . . certe . . . tua**: an allusion to the similarity suggested in viii. 2, of Silanus's case and Jupiter's. — **Dive Claudi**: cf. ix. 2, *illo dimisso*. — **antequam . . . cognosceres**: Claudius was said to have been capriciously hasty and unfair in his condemnations; cf. xii. 3, *una tantum parte audita*, and xiv. 2–3, similarly; also Suet. *Claud.* 15 and 29, and Dio, LX. 14–16.

XI. 1. quem ῥῖψε, etc.: *whom, snatching him by the foot, he hurled from the heavenly threshold;* quoted from the *Iliad*, I. 591, where Vulcan tells how he fell all day and landed on Lemnos. Cf. *id.* XV. 23. — **iratus . . . suspendit illam**: *Iliad*, XV. 18, where Zeus recalls the incident unpleasantly to Hera's memory. — **num quid occidit**: *he didn't kill her, did he?* — **Messalinam, cuius aeque**, etc.: Valeria Messalina, Claudius's third wife, was the great-grand-

daughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, who was thus her *avunculus maior*. Claudius was Octavia's grandson, so that Augustus was properly his *avunculus magnus;* cf. *Consol. ad Polyb.* xv. 4. *Avunculus maior*, however, he is called in Suet. *Claud.* 3. Messalina's death in consequence of her outrageous misdeeds is described in Tac. *Ann.* XI. 37–38. The freedman Narcissus brought it about. — **"Nescio," inquis**: Suetonius (*Claud.* 39) tells the absurd example of Claudius's absent-mindedness (*oblivio et inconsiderantia*), when after having sanctioned Messalina's death he innocently inquired why she didn't come to dinner, *cur domina non veniret*. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XI. 38. — **male faciant**: a familiar expression of ill-will.

2. C. Caesarem . . . persequi: apparently a play upon two meanings of the verb, *to persecute* and *to imitate*. Claudius had promptly undertaken to undo the acts of Caligula so far as was possible, and to obliterate his memory. — **Occiderat ille socerum**: M. Junius Silanus was the father of Junia Claudilla, who was married to Caligula A.D. 33. He fell A.D. 38. — **et generum**: *i.e.* his son-in-law as well as his father-in-law; in fact two sons-in-law. See the enumeration below, xi. 5. — **Gaius . . . Magnum vocari**: the fact is stated by Suetonius (*Calig.* 35). Dio (LX. 5) also says that Gaius was on the point of killing the young Magnus because of the name. — **hic . . . reddidit**: cf. Dio, *ibid.* — **caput tulit**: *i.e. abstulit;* see below. — **domo**: *family.* — **Crassum, Magnum, Scriboniam**: M. Licinius Crassus Frugi was consul *ordinarius* A.D. 27. His son, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, was betrothed to Claudius's elder daughter Antonia A.D. 41 and married her, but was put to death in the year 47 on account of Messalina's jealousy. Caligula's treatment of him has been already mentioned. Scribonia, the wife of Crassus and mother of Magnus, is supposed to have been a descendant of the original Pompey the Great. — **tris homines assarios**: an emendation suggested by Bücheler; *assarius* (worth an *as* apiece) is on the analogy of *homo sestertiarius* (Petron. 45) and *homo dipundiarus* (*ibid.* 74; cf. *ibid.* 58), and indicates that they were a cheap sort of people, the stigma being comparable to that more recently attaching to the aspect of thirty cents. — **nobiles tamen**: Tacitus (*Hist.* I. 14) expressly mentions that Crassus Frugi and Scribonia were of noble birth. —

Crassum . . . tam fatuum, etc.: of his character we have no other knowledge; he had at least been consul. Recall *aut regem aut fatuum*, etc. (i. 1). Seneca, in *Ep.* 70, 10, uses the phrase *tam stolidi quam nobilis.*

3. corpus eius dis iratis natum: a proverbial expression, as we might say, "born under an evil star"; *e.g.* Phaedr. IV. 20, 15, *dis est iratis natus qui est similis tibi.* — **Ad summam**: *in short;* a phrase particularly common in the colloquial part of Petronius. — **tria verba cito dicat**: a challenge to Claudius's stammering tongue. The expression "three words" was proverbial; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 40, 9, *tria verba non potest iungere;* Mart. VI. 54, 2, *iunget vix tria verba miser.* — **et servum me ducat**: *and "he can have me."*

4. Dum tales deos . . . credet? A curious passage in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (VII. 455 seq.) hints at the discredit brought upon the gods by the adding of dead men to their number, and calls it a species of vengeance upon Heaven for permitting the Civil Wars that had made these new divinities. — **si nulli clarius respondi**: *if I haven't answered anybody too plainly;* an indication, apparently, of Augustus's forbearance; perhaps a jest at his extreme reserve. — **ex tabella recitavit**: Augustus was noted for trusting himself little to extemporary speech in important matters; hence the comic orderliness of his present procedure, as he summarizes.

5. socerum suum Appium Silanum: cf. *et generum* above. C. Appius Junius Silanus was consul A. D. 28. Claudius married him to the mother of Messalina; but in 42 Messalina and Narcissus plotted against him, and frightened Claudius into consenting to Appius's death. — **generos duos**: already mentioned, viii. 2; x. 4; xi. 2. — **Crassum Frugi**: *i.e.* the father of Magnus. — **tam similem sibi quam ovo ovum**: *i.e.* equally *fatuus.* The proverb was familiar; cf. Cic. *Acad.* II. 18, 57, *videsne ut in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo.* We say, "as like as two peas in a pod." — **severe animadverti**: explained by the following clauses. — **nec . . . vacationem dari**: Claudius in his lifetime had persisted in conducting trials very badly; now for all eternity he is to be condemned to weary himself unceasingly with the same employment. Cf. vii. 5. — **caelo intra . . . tertium**: Olympus corresponded to the city, *caelum* to Italy, in the case of a Roman banishment.

6. **Pedibus . . . itum est**: the senatorial phrase for going over to the side of a previous speaker, as in a "division," *discessio*, instead of voting in individual speeches. — **nec mora**: like the more common *haud mora;* sc. *erat.* — **Cyllenius**: so called from his birthplace on Mt. Cyllene, Mercury, the conductor of souls. — **collo obtorto**: a familiar phrase; as we might say, "seized him by the collar." — **unde negant redire quemquam**: from Catullus, iii. 12. Cf. *Hamlet* (iii. 1):

> "The undiscovered country from whose bourn
> No traveler returns."

Vergil (*Aen.* VI. 128–129) is a little less positive. *Sed revocare gradum, . . .* he says, *Hic opus, hic labor est. A caelo* is, as a gloss, bracketed. If, however, it is to be left in the text, Seneca may have been joking at the rarity of any one's returning from *heaven;* on the opposite theory, critics generally have prefixed *illuc* to complete the verse from its source in Catullus.

XII. 1. per viam Sacram: naturally, the route *a caelo ad inferos* led by way of earth; cf. xiii. 1. The *via Appia* (cf. i. 2) was a continuation of the same street, which was distinctively the street of processions. — **quid sibi velit . . . num . . . esset**: note the colloquial confusion of tenses, after the historical present. — **impensa cura**: the elaborateness of Claudius's funeral is attested by Suetonius (*Nero*, 9) and Tacitus (*Ann.* XII. 69). — **deum efferri**: *that a god was being carried out to burial.* — **omnis generis aenatorum**: *players upon every kind of brass instruments;* there was a "union" of these musicians at Rome, the *collegium aeneatorum* (or *aenatorum*).

2. **Agatho**: apparently one of the *causidici;* otherwise unknown. — **causidici plorabant**: Claudius had been excessively patient with them (Suet. *Claud.* 15); but his especial title to their regard was his partial abrogation of the *Lex Cincia*, under which the acceptance of fees by them had been illegal. — **sed**: the adversative is to the *pauci;* they made up in sincerity what they lacked in numbers. — **Iurisconsulti**: *legal advisers* (distinguished from *advocati* as definitely as attorneys from barristers), who had been of small account under the caprices of Claudius's administration. — **capita conferentes**: *getting their heads together.* — **non semper**

Saturnalia erunt: observe the familiar effect of the direct quotation; recall *Saturnalicius* (viii. 2), and note. Otto quotes a German parallel, "Es ist nicht immer Kirmes."

3. Ingenti . . . χορικῷ: *in a mighty great chorus* (*i.e.* choral song). The vulgar tautology may be justified by the spirit of the situation. — **nenia**: *a dirge*, a species of primitive funeral litany that seems to have fallen somewhat into disrepute since Plautus's day. One was proposed for Augustus's funeral, but apparently it was only one of the extravagant proposals which were rejected (Suet. *Claud.* 100). — **anapaestis**: the marching measure. — **resonet . . . Forum**: there began the march toward the place in the Campus Martius where the pyre was burned. — **cecidit pulchre**: of Fever, or poisoned mushrooms? — **cordatus**: an old-fashioned word. — **quo**: after the comparative, *fortior*. — **fortior**: Claudius's timidity was notorious; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 35. — **citato . . . cursu**: his halting gait has been already exhibited. — **rebelles . . . Parthos**: the Parthians were not properly rebels, never having been subjected; and in the last fight with them recorded of Claudius's reign they were victorious over the allies of Rome (Tac. *Ann.* XII. 44–51). — **Persida**: Persia for the Persians, by metonymy. — **certa manu**: cf. *solutae manus*, vi. 2. — **tendere nervum, qui**: *stretch the bowstring which* (by means of the arrow). — **picta . . . terga**: another object of *figeret*. The picturesque costumes of the Medes and Persians always interested the Romans. — **Britannos**: like Brigantas, subject of *dare*, after *iussit*. Claudius's expedition to Britain (A.D. 43) "beyond the ocean" was a favorite subject of epigram. — **scuta**: accusative of specification. — **Brigantas**: a tribe in the north of England, actually subjected not in Claudius's time, but by Vespasian. — **dare . . . catenis**: *to bend their necks beneath Romulus's yoke*. — **et ipsum . . . Oceanum**: *and Ocean himself to tremble beneath the new exercise of the Roman power. Secures*, here meaning the axes in the *fasces*, was the symbol of the *imperium; tremere* is transitive. — **quo non alius . . . saepe nec utra**: *than whom no other could more quickly reach a decision in a lawsuit, after having heard only one side in a case, often neither*; cf. x. 4. — **Quis . . . toto . . . anno**: cf. vii. 4. — **Tibi**, etc.: an apostrophe to Claudius. — **cedet**: sc. Minos, once *lord of the hundred cities of Crete*, now one of the judges of the *silent people* in

Hades. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 264, *umbrae silentes.* Minos acknowledges himself outdone and *will yield* you his place. — **causidici, venale genus**: a reference not merely to their venality in general but to the special fact that Claudius had allowed them to receive fees; cf. xii. 2. — **poetae . . . novi**: Claudius's willingness to listen to an "author's reading" is recalled even by the younger Pliny (*Ep.* I. 13. 3); contrast our author's attitude in ii. 2. — **concusso . . . fritillo**: gambling was illegal; cf. Hor. *Carm.* III. 24, 58, *vetita legibus alea.* But Claudius was fond of it and even wrote a book about the aleatory art. Note his penalty in *Apoc.* xiv.–xv.

XIII. 1. Talthybius: Agamemnon's herald in the Trojan War, and proverbial for a swift and zealous messenger. *The Talthybius of the gods* was evidently Mercury. — **inter Tiberim et viam Tectam**: at the northern end of the Campus Martius, not far from the mausoleum of Augustus, where Claudius's ashes were actually laid away, the *via Tecta* (cf. Martial, VIII. 75, 2; III. 5, 5.), which was perhaps the *via Fornicata* of Livy (XXII. 36), seems to have been a sort of arcade with shops. Claudius's descent to Hades here is apparently due to the popular superstitions that centred about this *campus ignifer*, as about Avernus (cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 240); in primitive times a pool fed by hot springs and other signs of volcanic action had marked the spot, the *Terentum* of the *Ludi Terentini* or *Ludi Saeculares*, for which Horace wrote the *Carmen Saeculare* in Augustus's time (B.C. 17). Claudius himself had celebrated the games here in 47 A.D., by a different computation of the century date from Augustus's (800 A.U.C.), and incurred some ridicule for the traditional announcement of a celebration such as no man then living had seen or would see again, when Augustus's games had taken place only sixty-three years before and one of the actors appeared in both (Pliny, *N. H.* VII. 159). The altar of Dis and Proserpina and other inscriptional evidence on the saecular games was discovered here in 1886 and subsequently (see Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 446).

2. compendiaria: sc. *via;* i.e. *by a short cut.* Cf. *Ep.* 73, 12; *te in caelum compendiario voco.* — **Narcissus libertus**: one of the most wealthy and powerful of Claudius's freedmen, and his secretary *ab epistulis, i.e.* in charge of his correspondence. He was

perhaps the Narcissus named by St. Paul (*Ep. ad Rom.* xvi. 11). Since he was an opponent of Agrippina, Claudius's assassination was accomplished while he was away at the watering place of Sinuessa in Campania for his gout. After Claudius's death, Narcissus was summarily disposed of, and got to Hades, since he did not go by way of Olympus, ahead of his patron. — **venienti**: sc. *Claudio, patrono.* — **erat** (*i.e. veniebat*) **a balineo**: the baths of Sinuessa. — **quid di**: sc. *veniunt?* In the mime of Herodas entitled *The Matchmaker* occurs the line (9) τί σὺ θεὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, where it evidently, from the context, means, It is a long time since I have seen you; your visits are as rare as those of a god among men. Perhaps Seneca was adapting the quotation. — **Celerius**: *hurry up!* for the use of the comparative, cf. *citius*, vii. 1. — **Dicto citius**: a phrase familiar enough for burlesque; cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 142.

3. proclivia . . . facile descenditur: a reminiscence of the familiar *facilis descensus Averno* (*Aen.* VI. 126); but the sentiment is common. — **ad ianuam Ditis**: cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 127, on the entrance to Pluto's palace. — **ut ait Horatius**: *Carm.* II. 13, 34. — **belua centiceps**: Vergil's account (*Aen.* VI. 417–423), which gives Cerberus three heads instead of a hundred, is more familiar. Hesiod, however, gives him fifty (*Theog.* 312). — **subalbam canem in deliciis**: *a white dog as a pet; subalbus* is strictly "whitish." — **sane non quem**, etc.: *really not one that you would like to meet in the dark.* There is evidently a play also on the two meanings of *tenebris.*

4. procedunt cantantes: *i.e.* the crowd in Hades. — **εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν**: *we have found him and we rejoice;* the ritualistic acclamation of Osiris in the annual Egyptian festival of his return; the cry to which Juvenal refers in *Sat.* viii. 29, "what the people shout when Osiris is found." It is also said to have been the formula of rejoicing when a new Apis, the bull incarnation of Osiris, was found after the old one had died. Its present application indicates that the souls of Claudius's victims had been waiting for him. — **C. Silius**: called by Tacitus (*Ann.* XI. 12) *iuventutis Romanae pulcherrimus*, and chiefly noted as the paramour of Messalina, whose mock marriage with him was the occasion of her condemnation. — **Iuncus** Vergilianus, **Traulus** Montanus, and

Saufeius **Trogus** are mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* XI. 35–36). — **M. Helvius, Cotta,** and **Fabius** are unknown. — **Vettius Valens**: physician as well as *eques;* one of Messalina's lovers. — **duci**: *i.e. ad mortem;* cf. vi. 2. — **Mnester pantomimus**: probably a freedman of the Emperor Tiberius; a favorite of Caligula and also of Messalina, to whose fondness for him Claudius had been scandalously blind. — **decoris causa**: *for the sake of appearances.* — **minorem**: *i.e.* shorter by a head.

5. Ad Messalinam: the natural centre for the foregoing group. — **Polybius**: Claudius's *a studiis,* to whom Seneca had addressed the *Consolatio* from Corsica; cf. p. 103. Messalina caused his downfall; of the four other *liberti* here mentioned, Harpocras is the only one to whom we have any other reference, and the occasion of his death is unknown. — **necubi imparatus**: *lest he should be anywhere unprepared, i.e.* unprovided with attendants; cf. *nec incomitatum,* iii. 4. — **Iustus Catonius**: *praefectus praetorio,* A. D. 43; one of Messalina's victims. She had feared he would tell what he knew of her vices. — **Rufrius Pollio**: appointed prefect A. D. 41. — **amici**: sc. *imperatoris.* — **Lusius Saturninus** and Cornelius **Lupus** are mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* XIII. 43) among the alleged victims of P. Suillius under the Claudian régime. — **Pedo Pompeius**: cf. xiv. 2. — Sextus **Asinius Celer,** as a brother of Asinius Gallus, may have been ruined by participation in his conspiracy. — **novissime**: *lastly.* — **fratris filia**: Julia, daughter of Germanicus; cf. x. 4. — **sororis filia**: Julia, daughter of Livia by Drusus Julius; cf. x. 4. — **generi**: L. Silanus and Pompeius Magnus; cf. viii. 2; x. 4; xi. 2–5. — **soceri**: Appius Silanus and Crassus Frugi, the latter of whom was strictly *consocer* of Claudius; cf. xi. 2–5. — **socrus**: Domitia Lepida, mother of Messalina, and Scribonia, who was strictly Claudius's *consocrus,* being the mother of his son-in-law Magnus; cf. xi. 2–5.

6. πάντα φίλων πλήρη: *every place is full of* (my) *friends.* — **quomodo huc venistis**: on Claudius's forgetfulness, recall *nescio inquis,* xi. 1, and note. — **In ius**: *to trial.* — **sellas**: curule chairs of the magistrates; here, *the judgment seat.*

XIV. 1. ad tribunal Aeaci: according to Plato (*Gorgias,* 524 A) Aeacus was judge of the Europeans who came to Hades, while Rhadamanthus attended to the Asiatics. The comic interest of

the situation is evidently the close parody in Hades upon the usual Roman legal procedure before a praetor. — **lege Cornelia**: a law of the Dictator Sulla, *de sicariis et veneficis*. — **Postulat nomen eius recipiat**: the request by the accuser that the magistrate take up the case, (*ut*) *nomen recipiat*. — **subscriptionem**: the formal written *accusation*, so called from the signature (*subscriptio*) which the accuser was required to append to it. — **occisos senatores xxxv**: ten of this number have been mentioned in the *Apocolocyntosis*. About as many more are named in other extant documents. — **equites Romanos ccxxi**: Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII. 43, speaks of the *equitum Romanorum agmina damnata* under Claudius. — **ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε** : *as many as the sands on the shore* (lit. *sand and dust*); the words form the end of *Il.* IX. 385.

2. non invenit: sc. Claudius; a demonstrative pronoun would have been in order; cf. Introd. p. xxxi. — **P. Petronius vetus convictor**: he had flourished some thirty years before, being consul A.D. 19; hence the *vetus*. Recall *convictoribus*, iii. 4. — **Claudiana linqua disertus**: cf. v. 2, *non intellegere . . . linguam eius*, etc. — **advocationem**: technically a *postponement* or stay of the proceedings, asked for in order that the accused might consult his *advocatus* and prepare his case for the court. Seneca sometimes uses the word in nearly the general sense of *dilatio*. — **Incipit . . . velle**: this particular expression with an infinitive is familiar in vulgar phraseology; cf. Petron. *Cen. Trim.* 9, 70, and 98. — **illum**: *i.e.* Claudius. — **altera . . . audita**: cf. x. 4 and the *Nenia*, l. 40. — **αἴκε πάθοι,,** etc.: *if he should be treated as he treated others, true justice would be done*, a proverbial expression of "eye for an eye" justice to which Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* V. 5, 3) refers as a judgment of Rhadamanthus. Elsewhere it is ascribed variously to Hesiod and to the Delphic oracle.

3. magis iniquum . . . quam novum: *i.e.* that he should be convicted without having his defence heard; he had often convicted others so. — **Sisyphum**, etc.: the suggestion is implied, of course, that some one of these three notorious sufferers should be relieved and Claudius put in his place. — **laturam**: like many words of plebeian formation in *-ura*. In late Latin it became a common commercial term for the work of a porter; appropriately

used of Sisyphus's punishment in Hades — rolling a huge stone up a hill only to see it roll down again. — **Tantalum**: who was constantly tantalized by a rich banquet spread before him and snatched away just as he was about to satisfy his hunger. — **succurreretur**: impersonal. — **Ixionis . . . rotam sufflaminandam**: *that the wheel of Ixion* — who was bound to it — *ought to be stopped, sometime. Sufflamino*, from *sufflamen*, a drag chain, was presumably a carter's word.

4. Non placuit: *but it was decided not*, etc.; note the disconnected brevity of the passage. — **vel Claudius**: *i.e. Claudius quoque.* — **Placuit . . . debere**: *it was decided that a new punishment ought*, etc.; observe the tautology in these two words. — **alicuius cupiditatis spem**: *the hope of satisfying some desire.* — **pertuso fritillo**: with a dicebox that had a hole in the bottom. Cf. the "vain labor" of the Danaids with their leaky water-jars, *pertusa dolia.*

XV. 1. missurus: *about to throw* the dice. — **subducto . . . fundo**: *i.e.* the hole in the bottom of the box. — **auderet**: *ventured;* by this time he is somewhat intimidated. — **talos**: *tali* and *tesserae* were different in form, but here the terms are undiscriminated. — **decepere**: sc. *tali; they tricked his confidence.* — **adsiduo . . . furto**: *with constant deception.* — **tanguntur culmina**: *the summit is reached* (by Sisyphus, pushing his burden up the hill). — **inrita**: *vainly;* adj. for adv. — **volvuntur . . . collo**: *roll back from his neck.*

2. Apparuit . . . C. Caesar: cf. statement (Suet. *Cal.* 23) that Caligula had spared his uncle Claudius only as a butt for contemptuous treatment. — **flagris . . . vapulantem**: evidence that Gaius had habitually treated Claudius as his slave. Cf *vapulare* in ix. 3; the word *colaphus* (*cuffing*) heightens the disgrace. — **Menandro liberto suo**: Menander was a not uncommon freedman's name. But very likely this means the great Athenian comic poet, who, having spent his life in exposing the foibles of men, now figures as the assistant of the judge of the dead. — **a cognitionibus**: an office of which this is the earliest extant mention. It was that of a secretary for the investigation of certain kinds of legal cases; cf. *a libellis, a studiis, ab epistulis*, etc. The later officials *a cognitionibus* were of higher rank, but under the early emperors they were imperial freedmen.

Claudius is thus not only left as the slave of a freedman, but is condemned to a life of legal drudgery (and a *laborem inritum*) quite in accordance with his habit. He is abruptly saved from even the parody of an heroic punishment, and relegated, with conscious anticlimax and contemptuous haste, to something like his appropriate destiny.

AD NERONEM CAESAREM DE CLEMENTIA LIBRI II

The *De Clementia* was written for Nero after he had been in power a little more than a year. Its date is approximately determined by the allusion to his age, in I. ix. 1, indicating that he had just finished his eighteenth year; Nero's eighteenth birthday was December 15, 55 A. D. The dedication of the essay seems really to have represented the main purpose in writing it; not, as in the case of most similar addresses, to be a merely complimentary appendage to a piece of literature intended chiefly for the general public; and it represents typically Seneca's policy in dealing with his difficult pupil. Tacitus, in the well-known passage on the beginning of Nero's reign (*Annales*, XIII. 2), says that this would have been signalized by murders if Seneca and Burrus had not prevented, exerting their influence upon the young prince each in his own way, — *Burrus militaribus curis et severitate morum, Seneca praeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta.*

Nero seems to have responded well, at first. Suetonius (*Nero*, 10) describes his eager endeavor to please the people around him: *atque ut certiorem adhuc indolem ostenderet . . . neque liberalitatis neque clementiae, ne comitatis quidem exhibendae ullam occasionem omisit.* But he had early given evidence of opposite qualities. Britannicus's murder had occurred some months before the *De Clementia* appeared. And in the essay Seneca seeks by every means to impress upon his pupil the attractiveness of the ideal of a mild and popular prince. It is worth while to observe the variety of motives to which Seneca appeals, some of them thoroughly good, others much less noble. The element of flattery is of course inevitable, but it is ingenious and grave and moderate. Bearing in mind the necessities of the case, one finds little that can be said seriously to belie Seneca's final reflection upon his relations with the Emperor, "that his own character was not inclined to adulation and that of this no one had a better reason to be aware than Nero,

who had oftener encountered free speech on his part than servility" (Tac. *Ann.* XV. 61). Mere decency, in a published work addressed to the head of the government, required an attitude that under different circumstances would have been less appropriate; and there was ample reason to suppose that the best way to make Nero's good impulses settle into principle was to single them out for compliment. Furthermore, when Seneca recognized that vanity was a large force in Nero's character, it was hardly less than a duty to seek to make it effective as a restraint and stimulus on the side of good government.[1]

In the rhetorical sense the *De Clementia* is one of Seneca's finest works. But as we have it, it is incomplete. Originally it was written in three books, corresponding presumably to the three divisions of the subject as it is outlined in chapter iii. 1. Of these we have only the first book and seven chapters of the second, none of the rest remaining but a few quoted fragments.

The best source of the text is a Vatican manuscript (*Laureshamensis S. Nazarii*, now No. 1547 in the Palatine collection of the Vatican library) of about the ninth century. In this the *De Clementia* is preserved along with the *De Beneficiis*, with which it occurs in several other manuscripts also.

Book I

I. I write of clemency to you, Nero, that you may realize your qualities and understand the greatness of your part in the world. It is a high standard of generosity which you have set yourself, but men's doubts of you have disappeared, and all regard you as the pattern of your own future action.

1. speculi vice fungerer: *serve as a mirror.* — **verus fructus**, etc.: *i.e.* virtue is its own reward; *fecisse*, substantive. — **illis, ipsas**: both referring to *virtutum.* — **hanc immensam multitudinem**: *i.e.* the world of humanity whom he saw around him; note the peculiar force of *hanc.* — **exsultaturam**: with *multitudinem.*

[1] There is a curious parallel in the *Octavia*, vss. 438–592, where Seneca is represented in conversation with Nero as appealing to the same motives that are suggested in the *De Clementia.* In a different way the present essay throughout offers many parallels to the *De Ira*, naturally, since anger and clemency are so often opposed.

— **hoc iugum**: the imperial government. — **secum**: *i.e.* to one's self.

2. Egone, etc.: Caesar speaks. — **placui**: *have been deemed suitable* (by Providence). — **quid cuique . . . pronuntiat**: *i.e.* Caesar is the mouthpiece of Fortune. — **nulla pars**: *sc. orbis terrarum.* — **volente propitioque me**: epithets familiar in forms of prayer to the gods. — **pax mea**: the poets of the Augustan age had celebrated the universal peace that was brought about by the imperial government, and even in burlesque (*Apoc.* x. 2) Augustus is made to mention that he had secured peace on land and sea. But the majestic idea of the *Pax Romana* was becoming concrete almost in the same way with the term *Imperium;* cf. iv. 2. — **funditus excidi**: *to be utterly destroyed.* — **regium decus**: a crown. — **mea iuris dictio**: *i.e.* all these questions are under my jurisdiction.

3. iuvenilis impetus: an indirect caution. — **non ipsa . . . gloria**: *not the pride of power shown by inspiring fears,* which is *dira, sed frequens,* etc.; one of the subjects of *compulit.* Later in life, Tacitus records, Nero was suspected of this very motive (*Ann.* XVI. 23). — **nemo non, cui alia desunt**, etc.: *any one who lacks other titles to favor, is an object of my regard simply as a human being;* in this, Seneca lends Nero one of his own most significant and influential ideas.

4. sic . . . tamquam legibus . . . rationem redditurus: *as if I were about to render an account to the laws.* — **quas . . . evocavi**: cf. *Apoc.* xii. 2, *iurisconsulti e tenebris procedebant.* But Claudius had made a similar favorable impression at the beginning of his reign (Suet. *Claud.* 12). — **Alterius . . . ultima**: *I have pitied the youth of one* (culprit), *the old age of another.* — **dignitati donavi**, etc.: *I have pardoned because of his high position,* etc. — **mihi peperci**: *I have spared my own sensibilities.*

5. principum: *i.e. imperatorum,* a late use of the word. — **tu . . . magnum longumque eius bonum**: *you, its great and enduring benefactor;* an intimation, also, of long life in well-doing.

6. ingens tibi onus: *i.e.* you have set a difficult standard for yourself; cf. *Cons. ad Polyb.* iii. 2, fin. — **Ti. Caesaris prima tempora**: it was only in his later years that Tiberius was notorious for evil. — **ad gustum exigitur**: *i.e.* is preferred as the model; a

gastronomic figure, — *is taken as the sample,* foretaste. — **personam ferre**: *wear a mask.* — **ficta . . . recidunt**: *nec simulatum potest quicquam esse diuturnum,* as Cicero says (*De Off.* II. 12, 43).

7. Magnam adibat aleam: *i.e.* ran a great risk. — **quo**: adverb. — **in tuto sunt**: *i.e.* to continue the aleatory figure, are "a sure thing." — **tui**: obj. gen. — **quidem**: correl. with the following *tamen.* — **quod contigit**: *which is already attained.* — **haec confessio**: *i.e.* (*se*) *esse felices.* — **et illa** (*confessio*): *nihil . . . posse.*

8. securitas, ius: in apposition with *multa.* — **nisi pereundi licentia**: *i.e.* such liberty of self-destruction as the state had in the civil wars.

9. cui . . . placeat: *who is so sure of his own blamelessness.*

II. Clemency is not merely for the wicked; it may have to do with the good; but it should be exercised discriminatingly.

1. honor: sc. *medicinae; respect* for it even *apud sanos.* — **interim fortuna pro culpa est**: *sometimes incriminating circumstances come by chance* (to the guiltless). — **condicione temporum**: Seneca probably refers to the praiseworthy but misguided obstinacy of some who stood out still for the old republican power of the senate. Cicero made a similar plea for such men in his oration *pro Marcello,* 20. — **Adice, quod**: cf. *Cons. ad Polyb.* vii. 4, and note. — **reverti ad innocentiam possit**: *i.e.* by generous treatment. And the better Ms. authority at this point, instead of the following *sed,* gives *si,* after which we should have to recognize a lacuna in the text, perhaps to be filled by some such explanation as *si clementia spem restituerit.*

2. deploratis: equivalent to *desperatis;* a post-Augustan usage. Cf. xiv. 1. — **abscisam**: *i.e.* eliminated from our policy ("cut out"). — **tam omnibus . . . quam nulli**: *to pardon everybody is as cruel as to pardon none.* — **praeponderet**: *let it lean* (turn the scale) *to the side of mercy.*

III. Divisions of the subject proposed. Clemency is the most suitable of the virtues for any human being, especially for a ruler; for him it wins the greatest security.

1. haec suo melius loco: perhaps in the second book, judging from the part of it which remains; but none of the extant por-

tion of the work exactly corresponds to this promise. — **tres partes**: the amplification of these three divisions is not complete: the first is treated in Book I.; the second begins with the incomplete Book II., more precisely at chapter iii. Book III., which is not extant, was presumably occupied with the third. — **mansuetudinis, vel poenae remissionis**: genitive of material, after *prima ⟨pars erit⟩*. — **vitia . . . virtutes imitantia**: *e.g.* as *misericordia* in some respects resembles *clementia* (II. iv. 4).

2. Nullam . . . convenire: subject of *constet*, the whole being the subject of *necesse est*. — **inter nos**: *i.e.* the Stoics, enlightened souls, among whom Seneca seeks to include his pupil, the young emperor. — **inter illos**: the contrasted sect, the Epicureans. — **virtutem naturae suae**: *a virtue suited to his nature*. — **quae**: ref. to *virtutem*. — **manus retinet**: *stays his violent impulses, i.e.* in order to avoid trouble.

3. Ita: *i.e. si . . . potentia est*. — **pestifera vis**: predicate; the subject is *valere ad nocendum*. — **Illius**: *i.e. quem, cuius, quo*. — **tam supra se . . . quam pro se**: the natural emphasis is reversed; *as truly for them as he is above them;* cf. xx. 2. — **experiuntur**: *they have reason to know*. — **tamquam ad . . . sidus**: in *Apoc.* iv. 1, Nero is compared to Lucifer, Hesperus, and Sol. — **latera**: cf. iv. 1, *adversa volneribus pectora*.

4. se suaque iactandi quocumque . . . salus: *of casting themselves and their resources into whatever breach the ruler's safety requires*. Cf. Cic. *pro Marcello*, vii. 21, for similar reasoning. — **excipere ferrum**: *suffer wounds*. — **nonnumquam senis et invalidi**: a pleasant hint of Nero's own admirable youth.

5. corpus animo deservit: a simile comparable to the old fable of the belly and the other members of the body told to the Roman plebs by Menenius Agrippa (Livy, II. 32; cf. Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, i. 1). — **cum hoc**: *although this* (the body). — **ille**: *animus*. — **in qua sede . . . incertus**: *i.e.* its location in the body is unknown; there were various ancient theories as to the seat of the understanding, in the heart, liver, etc. — **avarus dominus**: *i.e.* the mind. — **dextram flammis objecimus**: like Mucius Scaevola, who put his right hand into the fire in order to impress the Etrurian king, Porsenna, with his Roman fortitude. — **voluntarii terram subsiluimus**: like M. Curtius, who plunged on horseback into

the chasm in the Forum, thenceforward called the *Lacus Curtius*, in order to satisfy the conditions laid down by the oracle and save his country. *Subsiluimus* is here exceptionally used in the literal sense of its component parts, and transitively. — **sic**: correlative with the foregoing *quemadmodum*. — **multitudo . . . pressura se**: *the populace, that would crush itself.*

IV. It is but reasonable that the people should regard the interests of the head of the state before their own.

1. Suam itaque, etc.: in explanation of the preceding sections; cf. iii. 4, *non . . . sine ratione*, etc. — **denas**: *ten at a time*. — **trahunt**: *i.e.* breathe. — **Rege incolumi**, etc.: from Vergil, *Georgics*, IV. 212, where he is describing the life of the bees. The queen bee was anciently considered the "king" of the swarm. Seneca quotes the verse also in *Ep.* 114, 23; cf. *Apoc.* iii. 2, note.

2. Romanae pacis: cf. i. 2, *pax mea*, and viii. 2, *in tua pace*. — **sciet**: in the sense of the French *savoir*, to know how. — **dominandi, parendi**: the Roman people both ruled and were ruled.

3. tutores: *protectors*, indicating Seneca's idea of the governing function. — **amari ultra . . . necessitudines**: *that they are loved* (to a degree) *beyond* (that of) *private relationships*. — **sanis hominibus**: *to normal men*. — **in quem . . . convertit**: recall the famous remark of Louis XIV., *l'état, c'est moi*. — **Caesar**: Augustus, who organized the principate. — **illi**: *Caesari*. — **huic**: *rei publicae*.

V. So it is reasonable that the head of the state should be considerate of its members, since they are parts of himself; this is the dignified and divine attitude.

1. rem ipsam premit: *i.e.* the apparent digression is really quite germane to the subject. — **quod adhuc colligit**: *as* (the argument) *up to this point indicates; colligit* is here used, as occasionally it is with numbers, in the post-Augustan sense of "amounts to." — **misso sanguine**: *of shed(-ding) blood*. — **sustinenda est manus**: *your hand must be held carefully*, like that of a surgeon, *lest it cut too deep*.

2. ut dicebam: in iii. 2–3. — **materia**: *opportunity for its exercise*.

3. virtutibus inter se . . . concordia, etc.: it was the Stoic doctrine that virtue is essentially one, not plural. Hence the

separate "virtues," as different manifestations of the same thing, were all equally virtue, and therefore equally good. — **magnanimitas**: in the sense of superiority to trifles. — **retundere**: note the frequency of substantive infinitives. — **melius . . . conspicitur**: cf. *Consol. ad Polyb.* vi. 4, and note, ref. to Matt. v. 14.

4. eum: subject of *inicere* and *uti*. — **ipsi, qui pereunt, adsentiuntur**: cf. *Cons. ad Polyb.* xiii. 4, *scias licet ea demum fulmina esse iustissima, quae etiam percussi colunt.* — **excanduit**: cf. *Apoc.* vi. 2, *excandescit.* — **sibi manum inicere**: *restrain himself.* — **cogitantem**: with *eum*, above. — **servare**: sc. *contra legem.*

5. nisi se ad illam extulit: *unless it* (*animus*) *rises to the level of that* (*fortuna*). — **illam . . . infra ad terram deducit**: *drags it down;* cf. the colloquialism, "run it into the ground." — **esse, despicere, furere, praemordere, urguere**: substantives. — **urguere**: *to "worry,"* as a cat does a mouse. — **proiectos**: their victims when "down." — **quae impulerunt**: *what they have already felled.* — **pertinacia**: *i.e.* persistent rage.

6. eminet, exaequat: the understood subject refers to *regem.* — **et meritis amittere**: *and who deserve to lose,* sc. *vitam vel dignitatem.* — **superiori**: dative of separation; *i.e.* one can kill one's superior, but one can give life only to one's inferior.

7. est excellentis fortunae: *belongs to the superior station.* — **suspici**: *to be looked up to.* — **illi, dis**: datives after *contigit*, of which the subject is *posse* (sc. *facere*). — **in lucem edimur**: *we are brought into the world.* — **tam boni**, etc.: cf. Matt. v. 45: "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good," etc. — **Deorum . . . adserens**: *assuming the attitude of the gods.* — **alios . . . libens videat**: *let him look upon some with pleasure.* — **alios in numerum reiinquat**: *i.e.* to complete the total; for "it takes all kinds of people to make a world."

VI. There is no one who does not need indulgence, for all have sinned.

1. defluens eliditur, quotiens, etc.: *i.e.* as a stream is dammed up by an obstructing rock. — **in qua . . . caveae postulantur**: *in which the places are filled* (lit. required) *in three theatres at once.* The three theatres (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 45, *per trina theatra*) were those of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus. They were, of course, im-

mensely larger than the ordinary theaters of the present day, being able to contain, it was said, thirty or forty thousand people each; otherwise the inference would have been pointless. — **in qua consumitur**, etc.: Rome was a market for the products of the entire world. — **aratur**: *is produced.* — **quanta solitudo . . . sit**: after *cogitato.*

2. quotus quisque: *i.e.* how often one? cf. St. John viii. 7. — **non ex ipsa . . . quaerit**: *would not be convicted under the same law by which he is conducting the trial.* — **difficilior**: *more unwilling.* Seneca here shows the keenness of his psychology. — **petere . . . meruit**: *has needed to seek it.*

3. Peccavimus omnes: scriptural parallels are numerous; *e.g.* Eccles. vii. 20. Cf. also Seneca himself (*De Ira*, II. 28, 1), *hoc primum nobis persuadeamus, neminem nostrum esse sine culpa.* — **ex destinato**: *of deliberate intention.*

4. peccando: *i.e.* because of the lessons of his sinful experience.

VII. A ruler should treat his subjects no more severely than he wishes the gods to treat him. He cannot act as among equals.

1. talem . . . quales . . . velit: *i.e.* as he wishes his trespasses to be forgiven. — **Expedit**: *is it well?* a rhetorical question without the proper particle. — **cuius non membra . . . colligant**: a result clause after *tutus; i.e.* safe from the danger that the haruspices may have to collect his limbs for burial, as they did those of persons struck by lightning, who were thus marked by the displeasure of the gods.

2. fulminibus: *with the lightnings of divine vengeance.* — **mundi status**: *the aspect of the world.* — **puro die**: *with a clear sky.* — **fragoribus**: *crashes of thunder.* — **ignes**: *lightnings.* — **morati imperii**: *of a well-ordered government.*

3. trementes, expavescentes: the people. — **eo**: the ruler. — **Facilius . . . ignoscitur**: *we more easily excuse.* — **privatis**: contrasted with *is, cui ultio in facili est.* — **omissa ea**: sc. *ultione.*

4. Humili loco positis . . . liberius est: *for those who occupy a humble station it is more permissible.* — **exercere manum**: *to engage in violence.* — **morem . . . gerere**: *to yield to their rage.* — **leves**: *of little consequence.* — **inter paria**: *between equals*, either persons or things; contrasted with *regi.*

VIII. Great power entails proportionate obligations to self-restraint.

1. Grave: (sc. *esse*) predicate of *arbitrium cripi.* — **regibus**: dat. of separation. — **non experiris**: *i.e.* you speak as if the idea were a novelty, — that you (in a position of authority) are under more constraint than we (who are subjects). — **istud**: *i.e. imperium*, here meaning freedom of action. — **quam non excedunt**: *excedo* became transitive in Silver Age Latin. — **quorum et virtutes**, etc.: *i.e.* whose virtues have the disadvantage and whose vices the advantage of obscurity. — **vestra facta**, etc.: by contrast. — **nullis magis . . . quam**: sc. *illis* (dat. of agency).

2. licent: recall the plural also in *Cons. ad Polyb.* vi. 4, etc. — **beneficio tuo**: *i.e.* under your beneficent government. — **in tua pace**: cf. i. 2, *pax mea.* In the peace which depended upon the government, the government alone could not rest. — **obsidet**: sc. *fortuna, i.e.* your greatness.

3. non posse fieri minorem: in apposition with *haec servitus.* — **illis datum . . . quam tibi tutum**: *no more granted* (permissible) *to them than safe for you.* — **fastigio . . . adfixus**: Seneca similarly expresses his idea in *De Tranq. Animi*, x. 6; *multi quidem sunt, quibus necessario haerendum sit in fastigio suo, ex quo non possunt nisi cadendo descendere.*

4. contingit: *it is possible.* — **prodire**: *are going out of doors.* — **Oriris**: *you are dawning*, like the sun. Nero was early made accustomed to this comparison; cf. *Apoc.* iv. 1, *et al.*

5. excipiant: *hear.* — **quia neminem adfligere**: sc. *potes.* — **periculo, metu**: abl. of attendant circumstance. — **cogitatur**: the subject is *quantum fecerit . . . sit.* — **in eo**: *in the case of him.*

6. opportuniores, etc.: *i.e.* more liable to be imposed upon, "easier." — **acceptarum**: sc. *iniuriarum*, obj. gen. with *patientia.* — **vindicta**: *vengeance.*

7. Voluntas . . . deficiat: *i.e.* one's inclination to vengeance should stop short of what the occasion calls for. — **tollendo**: sc. *inimicos.*

IX. An example of Augustus's effective use of clemency.

1. domestico: *i.e.* in your own family. — **a principatu suo**: *from the time when he gained sole power.* — **in communi**: *while*

still coöperating with others, in the triumvirate. — **hoc aetatis**: cf. the commoner phrase, *id temporis;* vid. G.L. 336, N. 2; B. 185, 2; A.G. 397, *a*; H.B. 388, *b*. — **duodevicensimum egressus annum**: note the non-Ciceronian transitive use of *egressus*. The allusion helps to fix the date of the *De Clementia* as not long after December, 55 A.D. Augustus, however, born in September, 63 B.C., was over twenty at the time of the proscriptions of 43. — **pugiones in sinum**, etc.: *he had already hidden daggers in the bosoms of his friends*. In Seneca's tragedy of *Thyestes* (722) occurs the expression *abscondere ensem* in a similar sense. — **latus petierat**: *i.e.* he had tried to assassinate. — **collega proscriptionis**: *i.e.* had participated in the proscription, with Antony and Lepidus, the other triumvirs.

2. cum annum quadragensimum transisset: this is the Ms. reading. Another version of the story, given by Dio Cassius (LV. 14–22), dates it 4 A.D., when Augustus had passed (several years) beyond sixty. It has been suggested by Wesseling that Seneca's text should read *sexagesimum* (supposing the present reading to be due to an easy corruption from *LX* to *XL*) in view of Dio's statement and of Seneca's epithet, *senex*, applied to Augustus in xi. 1. Cinna, moreover, according to the *Fasti*, was consul A.D. 5. (Cf. the end of this chapter ix.) But if Seneca had thought of Augustus as sixty-six years old, he would hardly have qualified his epithet by the following words, *aut iam in senectutem annis vergentibus;* and we have no other evidence that Augustus was in Gaul so late in life. It seems probable that the apparent error is Seneca's rather than a copyist's. This may be one of the matters in which, according to Quintilian's criticism, Seneca was misled by secretaries to whom he intrusted the investigation of particular points. — **in Gallia moraretur**: Augustus was in Gaul when he was about forty-seven years old. Dio, however, puts the incident in Rome. — **L. Cinnam**: Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus; according to Dio, Γναῖος Κορνήλιος θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ μεγάλου Πομπηίου ὤν (*Gnaeus Cornelius, son of the daughter of Pompey the Great*), which agrees with the inscriptions showing his name. Apparently the praenomen Lucius is here an error of Seneca's. This Cinna's father was the L. Cornelius Cinna who was praetor in 44 B.C.; he had married a

daughter of Pompey. Corneille's tragedy of *Cinna* is based upon this story. — **vellet**: sc. Cinna.

3. Constituit: sc. Augustus. — **hoc detracto**: *i.e.* except for the present crime. — **iam . . . non poterat**: his character was so changed.

4. non occidere . . . sed immolare: with the emphasis on the distinction.

5. tanti: G.L. 380, 1, REM.; B. 203, 3; A.G. 417; H.B. 356, 1. — **ut ego non peream**: *ut . . . non* is not instead of *ne*, but *non* goes with the verb in a species of litotes.

6. Livia: a longer version of the conversation with her is given by Dio, LV. 16 seq. — **non procedunt**: as we say, *do not "go."* — **Q. Salvidienus** *Rufus:* an officer of Augustus's army. His plot (40 B.C.) was revealed by M. Antony, and he was accused in the senate by Augustus himself. Being condemned, Salvidienus committed suicide. Cf. Livy, Book 127, *Periocha*; Dio, XLVIII. 33; Suet. *Aug.* 66. — **Lepidus**: Suetonius (*Aug.* 19) mentions him and the other conspirators whose names follow here: *coniurationes . . . compressit alias alio tempore, Lepidi iuvenis, deinde Varronis Murenae et Fanni Caepionis, mox M. Egnati*, etc. Cf. Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* iv. 5: *dum* ⟨Augustus⟩ *. . . hostes perdomat . . . in ipsa urbe Murenae, Caepionis, Lepidi, Egnatiorum in eum mucrones acuebantur.* Lepidus was a son of the triumvir. Cf. Dio, LIV. 15. — **Murena**: A. Terentius Varro Murena was by adoption a brother of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, who incurred Augustus's displeasure by divulging to her the secret of the discovered conspiracy (Suet. *Aug.* 66). He was the Licinius Murena to whom Horace addressed the famous ode on the Golden Mean (*Carm.* II. 10); in 23 B.C. he was Augustus's colleague in the consulship, but within a year he was involved in the conspiracy with Fannius Caepio. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 8; Vell. Paterc. II. 91; Dio, LIV. 3. — **Egnatius**: M. Egnatius Rufus, by his demagogical and arrogant conduct, rendered himself offensive to Augustus and was prevented from standing for the consulship. After his conspiracy against the emperor he met his death in prison. Cf. Vell. Paterc. II. 91–92; Dio, LIII. 24; Tac. *Ann.* I. 10, etc. — **quos tantum ausos pudet**: some others who ventured to conspire against the emperor were of very low rank (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 19: *nam ne ultimae quidem sortis hominum conspiratione et periculo*

caruit). — **quomodo . . . cedat**: *how clemency may result.* — **prodesse famae tuae**: *i.e.* help your reputation for magnanimity.

7. sibi . . . advocatum: *i.e.* a counsellor who supported Augustus's own inclinations. — **renuntiari . . . amicis**: countermanded the request for their attendance, since he had already settled the case.

8. in hostium castris: *i.e.* in the Pompeian party. — **non factum . . . sed natum**: naturally, since he was *Cn. Pompei nepos*, his hostility to the Caesars was hereditary, and his father, somewhat equivocally, had favored the "tyrranicides" of the Ides of March. — **victo victores invideant**: *i.e.* my partisans have occasion to envy you, who belonged to the beaten side.

9. Non praestas . . . fidem, etc.: *you are not keeping our agreement; it was understood that*, etc.

10. defixum: *struck dumb.* — **quo . . . animo**: *with what purpose?* — **male . . . agitur**: *things are in a bad way with the Roman people.* — **Domum tueri . . . in privato iudicio superatus**: an otherwise unrecorded defeat in a legal action by the influence of a mere *libertinus.* — **adeo nihil facilius**, etc.: *i.e.* having been defeated by a freedman, you think the next best person against whom to take counsel (*advocare*) is the emperor. — **Cedo**: imperative; see lexicon. — **Paulusne . . . praeferentium**: representatives of noble houses which have still maintained their greatness. — **te . . . ferent**: *will they suffer you* (to rule)? — **inania nomina**: mere inherited names as their only title to respect. — **imaginibus suis decori**: two datives; *are a credit to their ancestors;* lit. to their family portraits.

11. hanc poenam: the two hours' ordeal. — **prius**: the former time it was to you as an open enemy. — **parricidae**: because Augustus was *Pater Patriae.* — **debeas**: sc. *mihi vitam tuam.*

12. detulit ultro consulatum: elsewhere (*De Benef.* IV. 30, 2) Seneca indicates distinctly that it was the greatness of Cinna's grandfather Pompey to which he owed this nomination. — **questus**: *reproaching him.* — **auderet**: note the change of subject. — **petere**: *to offer himself as a candidate.* — **heres solus illi**: *i.e.* Cinna willed all his property to the emperor. — **Nullis amplius insidiis**: so also says Dio, LV. 22; it is not quite true, but the later conspiracies were of minor importance.

X. The extent of Augustus's clemency and its noble results.

1. abavus tuus: Augustus. Nero's mother, Agrippina Minor, was the daughter of Agrippina Major, who was the daughter of Augustus's daughter Julia. By adoption the relation could also be traced through the emperor Tiberius and his adopted son Germanicus, who was the father of Agrippina Minor. — **si non ignovisset**, etc.: Cicero hints at the same thing in reference to Julius Caesar in the *Pro Marcello*, v. 13: *amplissimos viros . . . patriae reddidit.* — **Sallustium**: C. Sallustius Crispus, grandson of the sister of Sallust the historian, and his heir, was at first an opponent of Augustus, but afterwards became influential as his friend. His gardens near the *Porta Collina* were famous. Horace addressed to him *Carm.* ii. 2. — **Cocceios**: M. Cocceius Nerva is supposed, after having been a partisan of Antony, to have been forgiven by Augustus for the sake of his brother, L. Cocceius Nerva. He was consul A.U.C. 718. The plural is generic; *i.e.* such men as Cocceius, etc. — **Deillios**: Q. Deillius (or Dellius) was an officer of Antony the Triumvir, who went over to the side of Octavius shortly before the battle of Actium; cf. Dio, L. 23; Vell. Paterc. II. 84. — **cohortem primae admissionis**: *i.e.* the most intimate class of his friends, those admitted to an audience in preference to others. — **Domitios**: Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was pardoned by Julius Caesar after Pharsalia; later he became a partisan of Antony, but went over to Octavius before Actium. He was consul 32 B.C. and was the great-grandfather of Nero. — **Messalas**: M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, the famous orator, was among those proscribed by Antony, but fled to the camp of Brutus and Cassius, where he was high in authority. After their death he saved himself by going over to Antony and Octavius. He was highly favored by Augustus. Cf. *Apoc.* x. 2. — **Asinios**: C. Asinius Pollio, the orator and historian, when Octavius asked him to go with him to the fight at Actium, is reported to have declined on account of his previous relations with Antony; "I will remain neutral," he said, *et ero praeda victoris.* — **Cicerones**: the son of the orator, with Messala Corvinus, had been among the partisans of Brutus. — **Ipsum Lepidum**: the discarded triumvir was defeated by Octavius 36 B.C. and did not die until 13 B.C.; at the latter date Augustus was named Pontifex Maximus. — **quam diu meri-**

what "an unconscionable time a-dying!" — **tulit . . . retinentem**: *i.e.* allowed him to retain the emblems of authority even after his loss of the power.

2. gratum, etc.: sc. *eum.* — **nondum subactis**: *when they were not yet accustomed to subjection.* — **famam, quae . . . servit**: *such fame as rarely is at the service of princes (even) while they are still alive.*

3. non tamquam iussi: *i.e.* not perfunctorily. — **parentis nomen**, etc.: *i.e.* that the name of *Pater Patriae* befitted him. The spontaneous manner of its bestowal is described in Suet. *Aug.* 58. — **probrosis in se dictis adrisit**: Macrobius has gathered (*Sat.* II. iv. 19–31) a long list of jests which Augustus allowed to be made with impunity at his expense. — **quod dare illum poenas apparebat, cum exigeret**: *because it appeared that he paid a penalty when he exacted it; i.e.* he suffered sympathetically. For *illum* we might have expected *ipsum.* — **filiae suae**: Julia was at that time the wife of Tiberius; she was *in insulam Pandateriam relegata.* According to Dio (LV. 10) and Velleius Paterculus (II. 100), some of those who had been guilty with her were put to death; others were exiled. In *De Benef.* VI. 32, Seneca discusses other aspects of Augustus's state of mind on the same occasion. — **adeo non occidit ut**: *he was so far from killing, that* ——. — **dimissis**: *to them when they were banished.* — **diplomata**: practically *passports;* letters recommending the bearers to the attentions of provincial officials.

4. Hoc est ignoscere: *this is real pardon.* — **qui . . . gratificentur**: *i.e.* who will seek to please you by killing men whom they infer that you hate. — **non dare . . . sed praestare**: in apposition with *hoc; not merely to grant safety but to provide it.*

XI. Clemency like that of Augustus, coming after years of bloodshed, is not to be compared to that which you, Nero, have shown in your youth. Clemency as a safeguard; a distinction between kings and tyrants.

1. Haec Augustus: sc. *faciebat.* — **si in certamen iuvenilium annorum**, etc.: *even if he take his old age for comparison with your youth.* — **fuerit**, etc.: *be it granted that he was,* etc. — **mare Actiacum . . . infectum**: in the battle with Antony and Cleopatra.

— **fractas in Sicilia classes**: in the victory over Sextus Pompeius, 36 B.C. — **Perusinas aras**: L. Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, was captured by Octavius at Perusia, 41 B.C., and the story was current that he and three hundred of his followers were slain at an altar to Julius Caesar. According to Livy, however (Book 126, *Periocha*), Octavius *fame coegit* ⟨*L. Antonium*⟩ *in deditionem venire ipsique et omnibus militibus eius ignovit, Perusiam diruit*, etc. — **proscriptiones**: those which marked the arrangements of the second Triumvirate, 43 B.C.

2. lassam crudelitatem: *i.e.* weariness of cruelty. — **habere, fudisse**: in apposition with *haec* (*clementia vera*). — **haec est . . . temperantia et . . . amor**: explained by *non . . . temptare, sed hebetare.* — **et humani generis comprendens ut sui amor**: *a love that includes all the human race as* (well as) *one's self.* — **non cupiditate**, etc.: depending on *corruptum*, which modifies the subject of *temptare* and *hebetare.* — **quantum . . . liceat . . . temptare**: *to try to what lengths one may go in tyrannizing over one's countrymen.*

3. nulli . . . citius, etc.: *i.e.* no one has ever had the power earlier in life.

4. tutiores praestat: sc. *principes vel reges.* — **Quid interest inter tyrannum ac regem?** The distinction that follows is evidently not the original Greek one, but the later one made by the philosophers, which has come down to modern times, and to the definition of which Seneca here contributes.

XII. The real distinction between a king and a tyrant; and the consequence of tyranny, that the tyrant must be an object of fear and hatred.

1. "Quid ergo?" sc. *inquis.* — **tyrannis . . . cordi**: two datives; a common idiom, as we say, *it is to one's mind.* — **factis . . . non nomine**: *i.e.* one called a tyrant (in the original sense) may really be less of one than a man who is named a king. — **Dionysius maior**: this implies for the elder Dionysius a better character than most of the historians give him. Though he did much for Syracuse, his cruelty and suspicion seem to mark him as a tyrant even by Seneca's definition. — **L. Sullam tyrannum appellari**: although he was made dictator by constitutional forms.

2. licet: concessive. — **se togae reddiderit**: retired to private life. The dictatorship was a military office; hence the significance of the return to civilian dress. — **septem milia**: Seneca in *De Benef.* V. 16, 3, alludes to them as two legions. The number is variously given by different authors. — **ad aedem Bellonae**: at this temple, which stood just outside the city in the Campus Martius, the Senate received generals newly returned from war. The *seditiosi pauculi* (note the diminutive) were being butchered in the neighboring Villa Publica. — **Hoc agamus**: *let us attend to our present business.*

3. Sed mox: sc. *loquemur;* a promise not fulfilled in the extant portion of the *De Clementia.* — **utique**, etc.: sc. *irascendum sit: and how (it is proper to be angry) if citizens have gone over to the status of enemies;* in *De Ira*, I. xvi. 1, Seneca denies the propriety of anger even in this case. — **ex eodem corpore**: *i.e.* from the same body politic. — **uterque licet . . . valletur**: *although one no less than the other is defended by armed men.* — **magna odia**: the hatred of his subjects. — **illas ipsas manus**: *i.e.* those of his guards.

4. Contrariis in contraria agitur: *he is driven in opposite directions by opposite motives.* — **exsecrabili versu**: the words are from Attius's tragedy of *Atreus* (Frag. V. Attius, ll. 203–204, Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.*) and were a familiar quotation of the time, so familiar as to be parodied (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 59). Seneca quotes them again later (*De Clem.* II. ii. 2) and also in his *De Ira*, I. xx. 4, alluding to the fact that they were composed in Sulla's century. — **multos praecipites dedit**: in particular allusion perhaps to Caligula, who (Suet. *Calig.* 30) was frequently accustomed to repeat the words. — **extrema admovens**: sc. *timor; that suggests desperate possibilities.* — **iacentes excitat**: *rouses even the most passive.*

5. feras . . . contineant: *although a string of feathers will keep*, etc. Seneca elsewhere (*De Ira*, II. xi. 5) remarks that fierce animals may be terrified by this device, and the observation was familiar; cf. Verg. *Georg.* III. 372. — **eques telis incessat**: *suppose a horseman should attack*, etc. Both *contineant* and *incessat* are "volitive" subjunctives, one expressing concession, the other, proviso. — **per ipsa**: *i.e.* the string of feathers. — **proculcabunt formidinem**: *they will trample down* (their own) *fear.* — **ultima necessitas**: *i.e.* desperation. — **Relinquat oportet . . . ostentet**: *fear*

(in order to control a subject people) *must leave some security and must show*, etc. — **securi**, partitive gen. — **ubi quiescenti paria metuuntur**: *i.e.* when the inoffensive have just as much reason to fear as the actually rebellious. — **ut aliena anima abuti**: *to be as careless of one's own life as if it were another's.*

XIII. The contrast between the wretchedness of a tyrant and the peace and security of a kind ruler.

1. **ut quibus . . . utatur**: *since he uses them.* — **gloriosus miles**: proud of his duty; certainly in no particular allusion to the title of Plautus's comedy. — **parentis**: a paternal government in its passive aspect. — **illum**: the tyrant. — **necesse est graventur**: *it is inevitable that they should detest.*

2. **quibus**: depending upon *utitur.* — **ut eculeo et ferramentis ad mortem paratis**: *like the rack and like* (executioners') *axes;* the words are coördinate with *quibus.* — **non aliter quam bestiis**: *as to the wild animals of the amphitheatre*, which were sometimes employed in the execution of criminals. Cf. *Epist.* 7, 5. — **omnibus reis aerumnosior**: *more tormented than any prisoner at the bar;* modifying *quisquam, i.e.* the tyrant. — **vindices**: *avengers.* — **eo perductus**: *being so far involved in crime.* — **Hoc**: *this consequence.* — **esse malo**: predicate agreeing with *cui.*

3. **ceteris misereri eius**: contrasted with *miserabilem . . . sibi.* — **suspecta sibi cuncta**: the same idea reappears in xix. 5. — **circumspexit quaeque fecit**, etc.: *has looked about both upon what he has done*, etc. — **conscientiam . . . adaperuit**: *has laid bare his conscience, burdened* etc. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI. 6, *si recludantur tyrannorum mentes*, etc.

4. **alia magis, alia minus . . . nullam non**: *some things more, some less, . . . but every part of the state as a part of himself.* — **inclinatus ad mitiora**: *i.e.* not inclined to be severe. — **ex usu**: *advantageous.* — **invitus . . . admoveat**: cf. x. 3. — **adprobare**: *to render acceptable.* — **fortunam suam publicarit**: *shares his own advantages with the public.* — **demeretur**: from *demereor; wins affection from.* — **aequis desideriis propensus**: *well disposed toward their just desires.* — **iniquis**: sc. *desideriis.*

5. **tollere filios**: *i.e.* not to commit "race suicide"; cf. *sustuli, Cons. ad Polyb.* xi. 3. — **sterilitas**: *childlessness.* — **indicta**: *im-*

posed, i.e. caused. — **recluditur**: *is done away with.* — **bene . . . meriturum**, etc.: being convinced that life under such circumstances is worth living. — **nihil**: adverb.

XIV. A prince should be like a father, who is led only with great reluctance to disown his children.

1. Quod . . . Quod: the first is interrogative; the second is relative. — **ad decretorium stilum**: *i.e.* to the decisive writing of the son's disinheritance. — **indolem**: (his son's) *character.* — **peiore iam loco positam**: (only) *started in the direction of evil.* — **simul**: sc. *atque.* — **deploratum est**: *the case is regarded as hopeless;* on the use of *deploratum*, cf. ii. 2.

2. quem appellavimus Patrem Patriae: cf. x. 3. The title had been given to Augustus, Caligula, and Claudius, and was given to Nero himself late in the year 55 A. D., probably shortly before the *De Clementia* appeared. — **honori**: dative of purpose. — **Magnos**: referring to Pompey the Great. — **Felices**: referring to Sulla, who took the name of Felix. — **Augustos**: the title of Augustus was at first one of solemn religious dignity applied to the gods. — **ambitiosae maiestati . . . congessimus**: *we have heaped upon . . . their exacting grandeur;* (*ambitiosae, craving recognition*). — **potestatem patriam**: *a paternal power.* — **sua post illos reponens**: *making his own interests second to theirs* (lit. *them*).

3. Tarde: *i.e.* reluctantly. — **membra sua**: *i.e.* his children, his own flesh and blood. — **prope . . . nimis**: *he who condemns hastily is not far from condemning gladly, nor he who punishes excessively, from punishing unjustly.*

XV. An example of paternal clemency and of imperial moderation and disinterestedness.

1. Trichonem: we know no more of Tricho's case than this. — **graphiis**: the ready weapons which the crowd had at hand, since it was common for a Roman to carry his *stilus* along with his writing tablets; recall that Julius Caesar used his against his assassins. Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 28, for an instance more like the present one. — **tam patrum quam filiorum**: fathers were just as indignant as sons.

2. Tarium: L. Tarius Rufus, a man of humble origin, who, by

his ability and military services attained the consulship (*cons. suffectus*, A.U.C. 738) and great wealth. — **causa cognita**: it is possible that Tarius filled some judicial office at the time; but this seems to have been a sort of extra-legal domestic trial which the father chose instead of a regular prosecution in the courts. Under Roman law, however, a father had large powers over his family, and Augustus appears to have been invited simply to give greater sanction to the decision of a family council. — **nemo non suspexit**: *every one admired.* — **annua**: *an allowance.* — **integro**: *to him while he was still innocent.* — **in qua civitate**: *i.e.* Rome. — **patronus peioribus**: *i.e.* villains never lack a defender.

3. dabo . . . principem: *I will exhibit . . . a prince.* — **Cognituri, cognitio**: the regular terms for a judicial investigation. — **advocavit**: *advocatus* being the regular term for a legal counsellor. — **venit**: *i.e.* Augustus; we should have expected a demonstrative to indicate the change of subject. — **in privatos penates**: as we might say, under private auspices. — **in meam domum**: where I (Augustus) should be the judge. — **futura erat**: cf. G.L. 597, REM. 3, (*a*); B. 304, 3, (*b*); A.G. 517, *d*; H.B. 581, *a*.

4. excussis omnibus: *when all the evidence had been examined.* — **et his . . . et his**: appos. with *omnibus*. — **petit**: sc. Augustus. — **sententiam**: *verdict.* — **ea omnium . . . quae Caesaris**: if the votes were given orally, the other members of the council would be likely to agree with Caesar's opinion. — **codicilli**: containing the verdict. — **iuravit**, etc.: it was so customary for childless persons to make the emperor their heir that Augustus feared he might be suspected of wanting Tarius to be childless. Suetonius (*Aug.* 66) speaks of Augustus's scrupulousness in accepting legacies.

5. Pusillo animo: *i.e.* because he should have felt above suspicion. — **quilibet nostrum**: *any one of us* (ordinary people). — **multa . . . famae dare**: to take especial pains to avoid the appearance of evil.

6. et alterum heredem: two possible heirs, his son and Augustus. — **gratuitam esse severitatem**: *that his strictness was not influenced by self-interest.* — **relegandum**: sc. *filium*.

7. culleum, serpentes, carcerem: the old Roman punishment for a parricide was that after being led blindfolded to prison, he

should be sewn into a sack with a snake, a monkey, a cock, and a dog, and cast into the river. Seneca alludes later (xxiii. 1) to the fact that Claudius (unlike Augustus; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 33) inflicted this punishment with especial frequency. That Nero himself deserved it after he had killed his mother, Juvenal intimates in his eighth satire (vss. 213–214), in his well-known comparison of Nero and Seneca. **de quo**: *i.e.* a parricide. — **cui**: *i.e.* a father. — **quod**: referring to the fact, *se timide gessisse.* — **proximum . . . ab**: we say, *not far from;* the Latin, *nearest from,* i.e. *the next thing to.*

XVI. A lesson in less important things, of mildness as the best method of controlling men.

1. coheredem: parents often made the emperor co-heir with their children, in order to secure the safe transmission of their estates. — **regi**: *in the eyes of a king.* — **sentiat**: sc. *rex.* For a scriptural parallel, cf. Matt. x. 29. — **pars**: predicate; *of whatever sort (he is), he is a part of the empire.*

2. ex minoribus: sc. *imperiis.*

3. Uter: sc. ⟨*is*⟩ *qui . . . an* ⟨*is*⟩ *qui.* — **si memoria . . . non constiterit**: *if their memory be inaccurate.* — **quibus . . . ignoscitur**: *and we feel that they are excusable for deserting.*

4. aequum est: the subject is *gravius . . . imperari.* — **domandi peritus**: *skilled in horse-breaking.* — **fiet**: sc. *is* or *equus.*

5. quique: *both he who,* etc. — **instituit**: note the following constr., *catulos . . . sequi.* — **exercitatis**: sc. *canibus.* — **contundet enim animos**: *for* (if he does threaten them) *he will destroy their spirit.* — **nec . . . concedit**: *nor* (on the other hand) *does he grant,* etc. — **Adicias his licet tardiora** ⟨*eos*⟩ **agentes iumenta**: *to these* (already mentioned) *you may add those who drive the slower draught animals.* — **nata . . . ad**, etc.: and hence thoroughly accustomed to. — **nimia . . . detractare**: *are driven by excessive cruelty to refuse the yoke.*

XVII. Man being such a wayward creature, he must be treated tactfully by a prince as by a good physician.

1. morosius: *more wayward.* — **in iumentis**: *in dealing with draught-cattle,* etc. — **erubescere**: substantive after *quam.* — **pessima autem condicione . . . esse**: *but that a man should be*

subjected to the worst of treatment by another man. — **hic morbus**: *i.e. esse morosum.*

2. Mali medici: *it is the mark of a bad physician.* — **ne curet**: a peculiar construction, and a somewhat doubtful text. We should expect, after *desperare, se curare posse.* — **idem**: *i.e.* the same that a good physician does; object of *facere debebit.* — **is, cui tradita salus omnium est**: the prince. — **non . . . proicere nec . . . pronuntiare**: in apposition with *idem.* — **aliis morbum suum**: the reflexive refers to *aliis;* cf. G.L. 309, 2; B. 244, 4; A.G. 301, *b*; H.B. 264, 2. — **quosdam**: instead of *alios* correlative with *aliis;* variation for the sake of variety. Cf. Introd. p. xxx. — **molli curatione**, etc.: *e.g.* as with sugar-coated pills. — **agat . . . curam**: *should take care.* — **honestae cicatricis**: *i.e.* that in curing ills of the state there may not be any shameful after-effects.

3. posse: sc. *regem saeve animadvertere.* — **maxima**: sc. *gloria.* — **impendit**: *sacrifices.*

XVIII. As cruelty in the treatment of slaves by their masters is condemned by public sentiment, so is the injury of citizens by the prince.

1. laus est: *is praiseworthy.* — **in mancipio**: *in reference to a human chattel.* — **illud impune possit pati**: *he can endure without causing loss to his master.* — **aequi bonique natura**: in promoting the humane treatment of slaves, the teachings of the Stoics had a great influence. — **pretio paratis**: *purchased slaves.* — **Quanto iustius**, etc.: *how much more properly does it (aequi . . . natura) bid* ⟨one situated as a prince is⟩ *not to misuse free men (ingenuis*, etc.) *as if they were slaves, but* ⟨to treat them⟩ *as persons whom*, etc. The sentence is a momentary reversion from the question of the treatment of slaves to the main theme of clemency in a ruler. But the text is doubtful. Gertz's arrangement parenthesizes *quanto . . . honestis!* and connects *abuti* with *pretio paratis;* but the latter part of the sentence seems a little too advanced in humanitarianism for even Seneca to apply to slaves. The double use of *abuti* with *ut mancipiis* and *ut his*, etc. is on the principle of zeugma. — **gradu**: *in rank.* — **quorum**: subjective genitive with *servitus;* objective with *tutela.*

2. ad statuam . . . confugere: *to take refuge by the statue of a*

god, as a sanctuary, for protection. — **cum . . . liceant**: *although all kinds of severity toward a slave are permitted* (by law). With the plural, *liceant*, cf. *licent*, viii. 2, etc. — **in hominem licere commune ius animantium vetet**: *the common feeling of humanity forbids us to consider permissible toward a human being.* — **P. Vedius Pollio** was a freedman who became an *eques* and a friend of Augustus, but was chiefly noted for his wealth and cruelty. Seneca in the *De Ira* (III. 40; cf. Dio. LIV. 23, and Pliny, *N. H.* IX. 23, 77) describes how, in presence of the emperor, Vedius sentenced a slave for breaking a crystal dish to be thrown into his fish-pond and devoured. Augustus interfered, ordered the boy to be freed, and all the crystalline vases in sight to be smashed. — **peius**: for *plus;* as we say, hate a man "worse." — **eos**: sc. *servos*. — **aliquid**: adverbial. — **vivarium quid aliud quam serpentium**: *fish-pond, or rather a pond of snakes* (which the eels resembled). — **sive . . . sive**: *i.e.* whether the eels were kept for food and incidentally fattened in this way, or whether they were kept expressly for this purpose.

3. commonstrantur: *are pointed out* for opprobrium. — **regum . . . iniuria**: *the wrongdoing of kings.* — **latius patet**: *i.e.* than that of private individuals. — **publico malo natos**: *those born to the public injury.*

XIX. The ideal clemency of a ruler is suggested even in the lower orders of nature; and its consequences are as happy as those of its opposite are wretched.

1. quocumque modo, etc.: *i.e.* whatever be the type of government. — **ceteris**: the citizens. — **Eo . . . quo in maiore**, etc.: *i.e.* so much the finer, the higher the station in which it is exhibited. — **id**: agreeing in gender with *quicquam* and *quod*, though it refers to *clementia*. — **quam non oportet**, etc.: *i.e.* power is not necessarily harmful.

2. Natura . . . commenta est regem: *nature invented the idea of a king.* — **regi**: *i.e.* what we know to be the queen-bee; cf. iv. 1 and note. — **vacat**: sc. *rex*. — **exactor**: *as the superintendent*, overseer. — **totum**: subst., *i.e.* the whole swarm; according to Vergil, *Georg.* IV. 213–214, even the hive and the honeycomb are pulled to pieces in such a case. — **nec . . . plus unum**: *never more*

than one "king" at a time. — **pugna**: *by means of a fight* between rival candidates *they discover the better one.*

3. Hoc tamen maxime: in this (*sine aculeo esse*) even more characteristically than *magnitudine et nitore.* — **pro . . . captu**: *for their size.* — **sine aculeo**: Seneca is in error; the queen has a sting, which she uses in the *pugna* above mentioned. On this point (cf. Pliny, *N. H.* XI. 17, 52) the ancient authorities were not agreed; some thought the "king" bee had no sting, others that he had one but could not use it. — **noluit . . . nec . . . nec**: cf. G.L. 445; B. 347, 2; A.G. 327, 2; H.B. 298, 2, a. — **ultionem magno constaturam**: *a revenge that would be* ⟨*so*⟩ *costly*: since the bees that have stings, as he says, lose them in making one attack, *aculeos in volnere relinquunt.* — **iram eius inermem**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 217, on the defence of the *rex* by the other bees. — **Exemplar hoc**: *i.e.* this limitation of the *rex apium.* — **illi**: *i.e. Naturae.* — **ingentium rerum documenta in minima** (sc. *re*) **arguere**: *to assert in a very small matter, the proofs of the greatest principles.*

4. ab . . . non trahere mores: *i.e.* not to follow their example. — **quanto vehementius nocet**: *it is capable of doing so much more serious harm.* — **cum telo suo frangeretur**: as the sting of the bee is left in the first wound it inflicts. — **alienis viribus exercere odia**: *to use other men's strength as the instrument of his own hatred.* — **si per se . . . faceret**: contr. *alienis . . . exercere.*

5. illi: for the man who indulges his rage. — **necesse est timeat**: cf. xiii. 3. In the *De Ira*, II. xi. 3, Seneca quotes Laberius's line, *necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent*, upon the repetition of which in the theatre, says Macrobius (*Sat.* II. vii. 5), all the people looked at Caesar, *notantes impotentiam eius hac dicacitate lapidatam.* — **non captatur**: *is not actually being attacked.* **Hanc aliquis**, etc.: *would a man endure to spend . . . when it is possible* ⟨by⟩ *being harmless to others . . . to wield a beneficent authority to the satisfaction of everybody?*

6. clementia . . . praestabit: cf. xi. 4.

7. vota non sub custode nuncupantibus: *i.e.* not uttering them for public observation; cf. *e.g.* Seneca's own prayers for Claudius in Corsica (*Cons. ad Polyb.* xii. 5). Suetonius in *Calig.* 28 describes a curious case. — **valetudo**: sc. *principis* or *praesidis.* — **excitari, esse**: after *pulchrius . . . quam.* — **melum**: *i.e.* that

evil will befall the prince. — **commutatum**: *given in exchange.*

8. Nonne ille, cui contingit, sibi quoque vivere debeat? *Should not he whose good fortune it is* (to live as has been described) *find it worth while to live for his own sake also, i.e.* for the mere pleasure of it as well as for the good he can do? — **In hoc . . . probavit**: *to this end he has shown by constant evidences of his goodness,* etc. — **fortunam**: *i.e.* the caprices of fortune. — **intuetur**: sc. *civitas.* The state regards such a ruler as we should regard the gods if they would give us the power to see them. — **visendi sui**: *vid.* gram. G.L. 428, REM. 1; B. 339, 5; A.G. 504, *c*; H.B. 614.

9. proximum illis locum: cf. i. 2. — **Hoc, hoc**: explained by *ita haberi,* etc. — **imitari**: *to make* (this) *your ideal.* — **habeare**: indef. second person; *that you may be considered.*

XX. The prince should be more severe in punishing injuries to others than those to himself.

1. si aut se . . . aut alium: the *si* is superfluous; these are the two possible reasons for inflicting punishment. — **de ea parte**: *i.e.* punishment inflicted for the former reason. — **dolori debetur**: *is due to personal grievance.* — **exemplo**: *to principle, i.e.* when the prince is punishing for the sake of other men.

2. hoc loco: when we are talking not about mere justice but about something higher. — **ne facile credat**: *that the prince should be slow to believe* accusations. — **innocentiae faveat**: *i.e.* assume innocence till guilt is proved. — **et, ut appareat, . . . sciat**: *and that he should bear in mind that it is just as much the judge's affair as the defendant's, that ⟨innocence⟩ should appear.* The emphasis upon *periclitantis* and *iudicis,* however, is reversed. Gertz has pointed out that this is a frequent trick in Seneca's style. Cf. the instance already noted in iii. 3. — **animum . . . habeat**: *retain his self-control.* — **poenam . . . donet**: *remit the penalty.* — **exorabilior**: *more willing to pardon.*

3. (est) **magni animi**: *generous.* — **sibi**: dative of separation. — **facilem**: *easy-going.* — **suis stimulis**: *injuries to himself.* — **magni animi esse**: the subject is *pati . . . iniurias.* — **in summa potentia**: *i.e.* when one could revenge one's self if one chose. — **principe impune laeso**: *than a prince who is not quick to punish personal offences.*

XXI. Of personal vengeance the prince should consider himself, as he is, above the need; and generosity to a fallen enemy enhances his reputation.

1. in reliquum: *for the future.* — **alieno malo**: *i.e.* by showing that he can do an injury. — **opinionem**: *reputation.* — **quos pares aliquando habuit**: *i.e.* fallen foes. — **Regem . . . servabat**, as Seneca has already practically said, in v. 4 and 6.

2. Uti animose: *to use in a noble spirit.* — **dandi auferendique**: dependent upon *potens.* — **quos . . . par fastigium obtinuisse**: cf. *quos pares habuit*, above. The case of Britannicus occurs to us in illustration, but Nero had spoiled that for contemporary use; conquered kings are meant. — **hoc arbitrium**: *i.e. dandi auferendique vitam potentiam.* — **perdidit . . . qui debet**: *i.e.* he no longer feels that it belongs to him; note the change of subject from the foregoing. — **alienam . . sententiam**: *another man's decision*, as to whether he (*victus*) shall be allowed to keep his life and his kingdom. — **quam si ex oculis ablatus**: since in this latter case he would be no longer a reminder of his preserver's generosity. — **in triumpho cito transisset**: as the triumphal procession would have soon passed by and been forgotten.

3. regnum . . . suum . . . relinqui apud eum: *his* (the defeated monarch's) *kingdom to be left in his own hands.* Note the use of the reflexive. — **ex victoria . . . triumphare**: *to triumph over victory.* — **nihil . . . dignum . . . victore apud victos**: recall the exclamation attributed to Caractacus, the conquered British chief, when he first saw the palaces of Rome: "What did you want of our hovels?"

4. minoris: genitive of value, predicate of *adflixisse eos.* — **animalibus . . . obterentem inquinantibus**: *creatures that defile the one who crushes them.* — **in ore civitatis**: *talked about.* — **servati punitique**: *whether they are spared or punished.*

XXII. In the case of other men's injuries there are three possible motives for inflicting punishment; the reformation of the criminal is better effected by kindness; frequent punishment makes crime become common.

1. haec tria: the three objects aimed at by the law. — **poena eius**: as an example. — **Nemo . . . locum**: *i.e.* if a man has no

longer anything to lose, he cannot be deterred by the fear of loss; *non habere* is the subject of *est*.

2. **nota**: *mark of condemnation.* — **levat**: *i.e.* renders *minus gravem*; cf. xxiii. 1, for an example. — **habet**: *provides.* — **adsiduitate**: *by constant repetition.*

3. **eorum**: *vitiorum.*

XXIII. The principle is illustrated by Claudius's treatment of parricides.

1. **Pater tuus**: Claudius, Nero's father by adoption. This seems to have been an exhibition of his stupid scrupulousness and of his antiquarian fondness for old customs, quite as much as of his occasional cruelty. Observe that Seneca does not hesitate to criticise Claudius plainly to Nero. — **culleo insuit**: on the legal punishment for parricide, cf. xv. 7. — **altissimi viri**: *men of the most ancient time.* — **rerum naturae**: *i.e.* human nature. — **velut incredibile genus . . . praeterire**: *to pass by as inconceivable.* — **quam . . . ostendere**: after *maluerunt.* — **cum lege coeperunt**: *i.e.* were unknown until the law suggested their crime. Curiously enough, Cicero had argued in just the opposite way on the subject. Quoting Solon, who he says had been commended for making no enactment as to a crime that was previously unknown, lest he might seem to suggest rather than to prevent it, Cicero goes on to say: How much wiser were our ancestors, who since they knew that there was nothing so impious that human wickedness would not attempt it, invented a punishment so peculiarly severe that it would deter those whose consciences did not deter them; etc. (*pro Rosc. Am.* 25). — **pessimo . . . loco**: *at its lowest ebb.* — **pietas**: *filial piety.* — **cruces**: the especial punishment for misbehaving slaves; hence more frequently to be expected than *cullei*.

2. **indulgetur**: impersonal, since the verb takes the dative; *Encouragement is given to it (innocentia) as to a common good.* — **Putet**: volitive subjunctive, expressing a condition. — **erit**: *sc. innocens.* — **a communi frugalitate desciscentibus**: *at those who deviate from the general virtue.*

XXIV. Another illustration of the same principle. Mercy is the more effective deterrent from wrong-doing.

1. sententia: apparently the proposition got no further, — was not passed as a *senatus consultum*. — **cultus**: *dress*. The slaves and lower classes generally, the *tunicatus populus*, wore tunics without togas. — **numerare nos**: *i.e.* and see how few the masters really were. — **pars . . . deterior, etc.**: *i.e.* if no rascals are pardoned, *it will soon become evident how much the rascally part of society preponderates* (over the better sort). — **melius paretur**: *better obedience is rendered to him who rules more indulgently.*

2. in . . . arduum nitens: *i.e.* inclined to exalt what is unpleasant. — **dignam . . . quam servet**: *sc. clementiam.*

XXV. The unnatural and progressive character of the disease of cruelty, and the penalties of arousing general hatred.

1. tam miti animo: *i.e.* as man's. Elsewhere (*De Ira*, I. v. 2) Seneca argues in the same way in regard to anger. — **gaudere, transire**: in apposition with *ista*. — **abiecto homine**: *throwing away the ⟨character of a⟩ man*. — **Lysimachum**: one of Alexander's generals, who, because he mercifully killed the tortured Callisthenes to save him from the king's unjust rage, was himself thrown to a furious lion. He saved himself, however, and was pardoned by Alexander. The incident furnishes Seneca with a favorite instance, to which he alludes also in *De Ira*, III. xvii. 2; xxiii. 1. — **tibi potius**: *your own rather* than the lion's. — **capacem**: *large enough to take in*. — **exitium**: appositive. — **familiarium**: a reference to Alexander's murder of his friend Clitus, as well as of Callisthenes. — **ulli salutaris**: *a positive benefit to any one*. — **citra sanguinem, etc.**: *short of* (*i.e.* without) *bloodshed*. — **vocatur**: the subject is the following clause. — **carnifex inter homines**: *i.e.* instead of a lion.

2. nova . . . conquirit: *invents new methods of torture*. — **animi morbus**: Caligula furnishes the classical example, and was very likely in Seneca's mind.

3. tam multis . . . quam multorum: as already intimated, xiii. 3 and xix. 5. — **non numquam**: correlative with *alias*, for variety. — **consternatione publica**: *general revolt*. — **quod**: *i.e. publica pernicies*, but not agreeing with the word in gender.

4. parvolae: note the diminutive. — **aliqua**: *sc. serpens*. — **ballistis petitur**: this is reported to have literally happened in

Africa in the first Punic War; Aul. Gell. VII. 3. — **verba dare**: a familiar comic idiom for *beguile;* here, *to give the slip.* — **ingentibus obviam itur**: *great evils men go directly to attack.*

5. pestilentiam esse: subject of *apparuit.* — **dis ipsis manus intentantur**: *i.e.* men show their indignation by laying violent hands upon the statues of the gods. — **Sub uno . . . apparuit**: an hypothetical case. — **depastum**: *devouring.* — **parte urbis obruitur**: *is extinguished by the destruction of a whole section of the city.*

XXVI. The appalling consequences of a life given up to cruelty, contrasted with the happiness of wielding a power for good.

1. sub certo . . . periculo: *i.e.* in spite of the certainty of punishment. — **tyrannorum**: sc. *crudelitatem.* — **sua praesidia**: *their own guards;* note the use of the reflexive. — **ipsos**: the tyrants. — **nequitia**: abstract for concrete, *wickedness* in the person of a bad man. — **apparet**: *obey,* remain a servant. — **nec quantum iubetur peccat**: *nor does it sin* (only) *so far as it is bidden; i.e.* the tyrants' guards, who have been taught to do evil, better their instructions and turn against their masters.

2. puta: *suppose;* i.e. *if;* a late use of the word. — **non . . . securi ineunt**: *men do not go even to dinner without anxiety.* — **lingua . . . ebriis custodienda**: because of possible informers, under a suspicious and tyrannical emperor. No man knew who his neighbor at table might be and *veritas in vino* was dangerous. Nero in the early part of his reign (Suet. *Nero,* 10) limited the rewards of the *delatores.* Seneca (*De Benef.* III. 26) says of the craze for accusations under Tiberius, *excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas iocantium,* etc. — **spectacula, ex quibus materia criminis**, etc.: It was because the crowd at a show did not favor the same performer he did, that Caligula (Suet. *Calig.* 30) wished that "the Roman people had but one neck." — **Apparentur**: sc. *spectacula* or *ludi.* — **artificum . . . nominibus**: *by artists of the highest reputation.*

3. occidere . . . fugare: in apposition with *istud.* — **aspectu suo**: *by one's appearance;* the reflexive refers to the subject implied in the impersonal *ventum est.* — **in nos . . . potestas**: *power over us.*

4. Illa: *i.e. animalia.* — **expertia, damnata**: concessive. — **ab-**

stinent suis: *spare their own kind.* — **horum**: *i.e.* human tyrants, contrasted with *illa.* — **externa**: *i.e. aliena*, contrasted with *sua.* — **quo . . . eo incitatior**: cf. xxv. 2. — **serpit, putat**: sc. *rabies.* — **inicere tectis ignem**: an interesting remark in view of the subsequent charge that Nero set fire to Rome. — **aratrum vetustis urbibus inducere**: *i.e.* to plough over the ruins of a conquered city. — **potentiam** (sc. *esse*): predicate, modifying the substantives *inicere* and *inducere.* — **unum . . . aut alterum**: *to order one or two at a time to be slain.* — **imperatorium** (sc. *esse*): predicate of *iubere.* — **in ordinem coactam**: *subjected to undignified restraint.*

5. Felicitas (sc. *est*) **illa**: explained by the following. — **civicam**: sc. *coronam.* The civic crown of oak leaves was the prize of saving the life of a Roman citizen. The emperor, as "preserver of the state," regularly had one fixed at the entrance of his house on the Palatine. — **Haec . . . potentia est**: note the chiastic balance of this closing sentence, *divina potentia* being contrasted with *incendi et ruinae potentia,* and *servare* with *occidere.*

BOOK II

I. I am inspired to write, Nero, by your noble utterance of regret at signing a death warrant.

1. una . . . vox tua: *a saying of yours.* — **audisse**: sc. *me,* which is, indeed, found in one Ms. — **non composita nec alienis auribus data**: *not premeditated nor designed for effect.* — **cum fortuna tua**: *i.e.* with the duties entailed by your high office. — **in medium adduxit**: *has brought into evidence.*

2. Sextus Afranius **Burrus**: the virtuous old commander of the praetorian guard (*praefectus praetorio,* 51–62 A.D.), a man, as Tacitus says (*Ann.* XII. 42), *egregiae militaris famae,* who helped Seneca to control the early years of Nero's reign for the benefit of all concerned. According to Suetonius (*Nero,* 35), he was ultimately poisoned by Nero; cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 51. — **tibi**: *dativus commodi.* — **scriberes**: object of *exigebat.* — **Vellem**, etc.: Suetonius (*Nero,* 10) reports the exclamation thus: *cum de supplicio cuiusdam capite damnati ut ex more subscriberet admoneretur, Quam vellem, inquit, nescire litteras.*

3. quae iuxta iacent dubiae libertatis: *i.e.* kingdoms adjacent to

the empire which the Romans had not yet turned into provinces, like Pergamus under Attalus or Judaea under Herod the Great. — **quae se contra . . . attollunt**: nations outside the empire, and hostile. — **in . . . verba . . . iurarent**: a legal expression for taking a particular form of oath; *kings should swear loyalty* to the principle you have enunciated. — **publica . . . innocentia dignam**: *worthy of* ⟨the days of⟩ *the general innocence of the human race*. — **antiquum . . . saeculum**: the Golden Age.

4. **consentire . . . ad aequum**: *men ought all unitedly to turn to righteousness*. — **alieni**: obj. gen. — **ex qua . . . oritur**: cf. St. Paul, *First Epist. to Timothy*, vi. 10, "The love of money is a root of all kinds of evil." — **pietatem . . . resurgere, vitia . . . dare**: also subjects of *decebat*. — **vitia diuturno abusa regno**: *the vices which have abused their long reign*. — **felici . . . saeculo**: cf. *Apoc.* iv. 1, *felicia saecula praestabit*.

II. Your words are a distinguished expression of the sentiment which will influence the world.

1. **Futurum hoc**: *i.e.* that the dream will be realized. — **parcetur . . . manibus**: *i.e.* men will anticipate your will and save you the trouble of enforcing it, and the pain of signing a death warrant.

2. **me morari hic patere**: *permit me to linger longer on this point*. — **non ut blandum**: *i.e.* not as a compliment. — **nec . . . mihi mos est**: recall the passage already quoted (p. 151) from Tac. *Ann.* XV. 61, where Seneca says, *nec sibi promptum in adulationes ingenium, idque nulli magis quam Neroni, qui saepius libertatem Senecae quam servitium expertus esset*. However true Seneca's assertion was, the generality is obvious that it is the best of flattery to deny any intention to flatter. — **quid ergo est?** *i.e.* why am I so inciting upon your virtues if I am not trying to please you? — **quod . . . cupio**: in apposition with *id*. — **ut quod nunc . . . iudicium**: *that what is now a natural impulse may become a settled principle*. — **illud . . . considero**: this is the answer to his question, *quid ergo est?* — **multas voces . . . ferri**, etc.: in apposition with *illud*. — **ut illam**: *as, for example, this*. — **'oderint,' etc.**: cf. I. xii. 4, quoting the same words from Attius' *Atreus*. — **versus . . . qui . . . iubet**: 'Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί, *when I am dead, let the earth be consumed*

by fire, perhaps from a lost play of Euripides, though its authorship is not certain (Vid. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* adesp. 513, 2d ed.). It is quite in the tone of the saying attributed to Louis XV., *après moi le déluge*. According to Suetonius (*Nero*, 38), some one at a later time quoted this verse in Greek to Nero, and he ferociously replied, *Immo, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος (nay rather, while I am still alive)*. Suetonius comments simply, *planeque ita fecit*, and goes on to describe the great fire. The quotation was well known. Cf. Cic. *de Fin.* III. 19, 64. — **huius notae**: *of this type.*

3. ingenia: *i.e.* men of talent. — **in immani et invisa materia**: *in a vein of cruelty and malice.* — **secundiore . . . concitatos**: *have with more felicitous expression* (than in other states of mind) *uttered striking and effective sentiments.* — **adhuc**: *i.e.* until I heard yours. — **vocem . . . animosam**: *spirited utterance.* — **ut . . . ita** etc.: *while rarely . . . yet sometimes it is necessary that you write that* (the confirmation of a criminal's sentence) *which*, etc. *Cum . . . dilationibus* modifies *scribas necesse est.*

III. (Beginning the second of the three parts into which the subject is divided in Book I. chapter iii. 1.) Clemency must be defined, lest we mistake something else for it.

1. in contrarium: *to the opposite quality.* — **Plura**: *several definitions.* — **ne . . . formula excidat**: from the legal use of the word *formula, lest the case be lost; i.e.* in the present instance, lest the definition be rejected because of inadequacy or inaccuracy.

2. Illa finitio: *i.e.* the following. — **reclamabitur**: *it will be objected* etc., as the first of the *contradictiones*. — **cuiquam minus debito**: *to any one less than what is due.* By ethical theory the criminal has a right to punishment; but evidently the difficulty of definition with which Seneca is engaged here is a double sense in the word *merito*. Cf. II. iv. 1 and vii. 1–4. — **atqui**, etc.: in answer to the objection. — **citra id, quod**, etc.: *stops short of that which.*

IV. The contrary of clemency is not strictness, as the ignorant suppose, but cruelty. The opposite vice of pity is also carefully to be distinguished from it.

1. '**Sed quidam**,' etc.: an objection by a supposed disputant. — **obvios**: *men whom they meet.* — **in compendium**: *for profit.* — **occidendi causa**: *for the mere sake of killing.* — **saeviunt**: *inflict torture.* — **Busiris**: a legendary king of Egypt, who cruelly sacrificed strangers to Jupiter and was himself slain by Hercules. — **Procrustes**: one of the mythical highwaymen of the Corinthian isthmus, who violently fitted passing travellers to his iron bed, and was himself despatched by Theseus.

2. non . . . laesa est: *it* (the emotion, standing for the person who feels it) *has not suffered injury.* — **extra finitionem nostram**: as given above, *nihil aliud . . . poenis.* — **continebat**: *included* ⟨*only*⟩. — **possumus dicere**, etc.: Seneca by implication admits that he is making a somewhat arbitrary distinction; cf. *illos . . . vocabo*, below. — **varia . . . genera eius**: *i.e. insaniae.* In *De Ira*, I. i. 2 Seneca speaks of anger as *brevem insaniam.* — **nullum certius**: sc. *genus insaniae; no kind is more unmistakable.* — **in . . . pervenit**: *shows itself by.* — **lancinationes**: *savage mutilation* (of its victims). The word is from the verb *lancino, to tear in pieces, to mangle.*

3. causam . . . modum non: *a reason . . . but no moderation.* — **Phaleris**: a tyrant of Agrigentum, famous for his cruelty and especially for the brazen bull in which he roasted men alive. He was a familiar example. — **finire**: *conclude.* — **convenit**: *there is harmony; i.e.* there is no inconsistency between clemency and strictness.

4. Et haec: *this also, i.e.* as well as its opposite, cruelty. Seneca naturally avoids mentioning that Nero's *Vellem nescirem litteras* (II. i. 2) was really an instance of pity, *misericordia*, rather than of clemency. — **Utraque**, etc.: *i.e.* one of these is in the direction of strictness, the other in that of clemency; both of them we ought to avoid. — **per speciem**: cf. II. iii. 1, *speciosum . . . nomen.* — **leviore periculo**, etc.: *i.e.* the latter error is less serious in its consequences, but it is equally far from what is ideally right.

V. The distinction of pity (*misericordia*) from clemency; popular misunderstanding of the Stoic attitude.

1. religio . . . colit, superstitio . . . violat: a hint, perhaps, of the drift of Seneca's lost work *de Superstitione* (see Introd. p. xxi).

But the distinction was not new. Cicero says (*De N.D.* II. 28, 71), *non enim philosophi solum, verum etiam maiores nostri superstitionem a religione separaverunt.* — **succidentis**: *i.e.* unable to endure. — **carcerem effringerent**: and let the poor romantic villains out of jail.

2. **male audire**: *has a bad reputation;* as we say a thing "looks" badly. Cf. the Greek κακῶς ἀκούειν. — **apud imperitos**: *among the undiscriminating.* — **sectam Stoicorum**: see Introd. p. xvi. — **minime principibus**, etc.: cf. *Ep.* 73. — **illi**: the sect. — **quod . . . negat**: subject of *obicitur.*

3. **Quod si est**: *if this is so.* — **quidnam haec scientia**: *what would this special knowledge* (for *sapientia*, philosophy) *be?* an obviously absurd system, if it be like what is described in the clauses, *quae . . . cludit.* — **portum . . . mutuo auxilio**: *the refuge of mutual kindness.* — **Sed**: *but, on the contrary.* — **ut propositum sit . . . esse**: *so that it is its avowed object to be,* etc. *Esse* and *consulere* are subjects of *sit.*

4. **aegritudo**: cf. *animi ad speciem . . . succidentis* (v. 1). — **obducat**: *becloud.* — **magnus animus**: *i.e.* superiority to petty emotions.

5. **hoc**: *this experience.* — **ne in suis quidem . . . calamitatibus**: in *Ep.* 63, 14, Seneca confesses that he put himself *inter exempla . . . eorum quos dolor vicit.*

VI. Though avoiding the weak emotion of pity, the man of the Stoic ideal will do all the good acts that pity might suggest.

1. **Adice, quod**, etc.: *even considering the fact that,* etc. The balance is shown by the following *autem.* — **providet**: *looks ahead.* — **in expedito**: *in readiness.* — **numquam autem**, etc.: *i.e.* even with all this intellectual preparation the mind cannot afford to be sad. — **liquidum**: *anything clear.* — **ex turbido**: cf. Matt. vii. 16, "Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?" — **inhabilis**: *inept.* — **non miseretur**: sc. *sapiens.* The play on the words *miseretur* and *miseria* is ill-rendered by *pity* and *pitifulness.*

2. **libens et altus**: *i.e. sapiens,* who is free from pity. — **non accedet**: *but will not join in.* — **ex communi**: *out of the common store, i.e.* on a basis of human brotherhood. — **catenas solvi**: *i.e.* from the captive. — **ludo eximet**: *i.e.* will let the ⟨enslaved gladia-

tor⟩ out of the place where he was compelled to fight. — **etiam noxium**: *even of a guilty man*, though criminals' bodies were commonly cast into the river; proper burial was popularly regarded as necessary for the repose of a soul. — **voltu suo**: *with his natural expression unchanged.*

3. Etiam ad calamitosos, etc.: *even to those wretched men who deserve both condemnation and correction he will give according to their share*, etc. — **forte laborantibus multo libentius subveniet**: *but he will much more gladly help those whose troubles are not their own fault.* — **fortunae intercedet**: *he will mitigate the severities of fortune.* — **ubi enim**, etc.: *for in what will he make a better use of his means or his strength than in restoring what chance has cast down?* — **deiciet**: *avert.* — **crus . . . aridum**: *a withered leg.* — **propitius respiciet**: *will look graciously upon.*

4. habet . . . ex ea: *i.e.* it derives some of its quality from wretchedness itself. — **subfunduntur**: *are suffused.* — **tam** modifies *oculos esse imbecillos;* **quam** modifies *adridere . . . et . . . diducere . . . esse morbum.* — **morbum**: *i.e.* a weak condition of the nerves. The Stoic evidently resents the contagiousness of laughter and yawning; but as he says of such matters in the *De Ira*, II. iv. 2, *Ista non potest ratio vincere.* — **miseria**: abl. of cause with *paventium.* — **quam si**, etc.: *if any one demands it* (pity) *from a wise man, he might almost as well demand* (*prope est ut exigat*), etc.

VII. Nor will the wise man give pardon, which must be carefully distinguished from clemency.

1. At . . . ignoscet: the transition is abrupt. The objector, recalling the statement in II. v. 2, that the wise man will not pity nor pardon, asks, now that pity has been discussed, *But why will he not pardon?* — **constituamus**: *let us decide.* — **quare non debeat**: after *rationem.* — **quibus hoc propositum est**: *i.e.* those who make a business of answering this sort of question. — **ego** (*sc. rationem reddo*) **ut . . . dicam**: *I explain* ⟨only⟩ *to the extent of saying*, etc. Seneca seems to fear that his condemnation of pardon may strike Nero as contradicting his approbation of clemency; hence his reserved form of statement; *in alieno iudicio*, also, implies that Seneca was not fully in accord with his fellow-sectarians on this point. — **Ei ignoscitur, qui**: *pardon is given* (when at all) *to him who*, etc. — **poenam . . . non donat**: *does not remit the penalty.*

2. **quod . . . vis**: to the questioner, or perhaps the hypothetical culprit. — **idem . . . quod si ignosceret**: *the same which* ⟨he would do⟩ *if he pardoned* (*i.e.* ignored). — **quod fieri debuit**: *i.e.* the exaction of the penalty. — **verbis tantum**: *with reproof only*, instead of the material penalty. — **invidia . . . laborantem**: *i.e.* clearly guilty. — **quia deceptus est**: *because he was misled* into wrongdoing.

3. **non sub formula**: *not by the letter of the law.* — **quanti vult, taxare litem**: *estimate the damages at whatever figure she pleases, i.e.* impose if she chooses a merely nominal penalty. — **quem iudices**: subjunctive of characteristic. — **venia . . . remissio est**: the equivalent of the preceding statement; *venia* is the act described in *ignoscere*. — **hoc . . . praestat**: *clemency is superior* (to pardon) *primarily in this, that it does not indicate that those whom it excuses ought to have been treated otherwise*; lit., clemency offers this (advantage over pardon) that, etc. Judging from Seneca's use of *praestare* elsewhere, we must take it here in the active sense, with *hoc* as its object.

4. **De verbo**: *i.e.* a mere verbal distinction between the duty of exacting a just penalty and of remitting an unjust one. — **de re . . . convenit**: *we are in agreement as to the fact.* — **sapiens multa remittet**: cf. II. vi. 2, and vii. 2, showing in each case that the wise man will do all the good that might be prompted by the weaker emotion. — **parum sani sed sanabilis ingenii**: genitive of quality. — **quoque**: correlative to *non tantum*. — **adminicula**: *props.* — **ne proceritatem rami premant**: *i.e.* in case the tree tends to branch out too widely instead of growing tall. — **vitio loci**: *because of the sterility of the ground.* — **nutriunt**: *i.e.* fertilize. — **aliena umbra laborantibus**: *overshadowed by others.*

5. **quod ingenium qua ratione**: as we might say, colloquially, *what character must be treated by what method.* — **quo modo in rectum prava flectantur**: cf. Isaiah, xl. 4, "The crooked shall be made straight."

The manuscripts end abruptly at this point.

AD LUCILIUM EPISTULAE MORALES

Seneca's friend Lucilius, to whom he addressed not only the *Letters* but also the *De Providentia* and the *Naturales Quaestiones*, was a procurator of Sicily, unknown to us except through Seneca's writings. Though he was of comparatively humble origin, his proficiency in legal and literary studies raised him to equestrian rank, and he was the author of a poem on Aetna, perhaps the one which has been partially preserved to us along with the poems of Vergil. He was a younger man than Seneca, as we learn from Epistle 26, 7; and in the preface to Book IV. of the *Naturales Quaestiones* Seneca compliments him upon his freedom from ambition and his fondness for quiet and literary pursuits.

Seneca's Letters are short ethical treatises, ostensibly written for Lucilius's philosophic guidance, but evidently intended for publication; their epistolary form is suited to their discursiveness and the variety of their subjects, which are taken from the interests of Seneca's daily life and topics suggested by Lucilius's correspondence. In literary style they are among the most finished of Seneca's works. They were written during the last years of his life, many of them probably while he was living in partial retirement, after having lost his influence at the imperial court, and was seeking his satisfactions in philosophic observation and in the final preparation of his soul. There are frequent allusions in them to his own old age. As to their date we cannot be entirely precise, but they probably range from about 58 or 59 to 64 A.D., or the end of Seneca's life, A.D. 65.

The one hundred and twenty-four existing epistles were grouped in twenty books. We know that the division into books was ancient, and also that some of them are now lost, from the fact that Aulus Gellius, writing in the second century, makes a quotation from the twenty-second book which does not occur in the letters we have. It is believed that the first three books (*Ep.* 1–29) were published by Seneca himself, perhaps with a view to

their effect upon Nero, and that the other books appeared not long after their author's death.

Manuscripts of the *Epistulae Morales* are more numerous than those of any of Seneca's other works. At some time in the mediaeval period (probably in the ninth century) the existing collection of letters was divided into two parts. The best authority for the text of the first part, consisting of the first thirteen books (*Ep.* 1–88), is a Paris manuscript of the tenth century, Number 8540 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. The text of the second part, Books XIV–XX., is based chiefly upon a manuscript at Bamberg (*codex Bambergensis* V. 14) of about the end of the ninth century, and a manuscript of the ninth or tenth century (*Argentoratensis* C VI. 5) which was destroyed by fire at Strasburg in 1870 during the German siege. Fortunately it had been collated by Bücheler before that time.

EPISTULA VII

On the need of avoiding the corrupting influences of the crowd, especially of the brutal public shows. Evil example does great injury. A few friends should be sought, with whom we can be mutually helpful; more are not necessary even as an audience for our literary work.

1. Seneca . . . salutem: sc. *dicit;* the ordinary form in beginning a letter and often even more abbreviated. — **quaeris**: questions from Lucilius furnish the text for many of Seneca's letters. — **Turbam**: in the preface to Book IV. of the *Naturales Quaestiones* Seneca commends Lucilius for his natural inclination to avoid the crowd, and gives him the same advice. Elsewhere in a slightly different sense he says (*De Vit. Beat.* ii.), *argumentum pessimi turba est,* on the vulgarity of arguing from the opinion of the majority. — **committeris**: with reflexive sense (middle voice). — **numquam mores quos extuli refero**: a frank confession of Seneca's old age which is to be remembered in view of the inconsistencies charged against him by others; cf. *Ep.* 8. 3. — **quod composui**: *the part of my character which I have put in order.* — **sine offensa proferantur**: *are taken out of doors without prejudice to their health.* — **ex longo morbo**: *i.e.* moral weakness.

2. vitium . . . adlinit: cf. "Can a man touch pitch and not be defiled?" — **in . . . spectaculo desidere**: *to sit idly at a show.* Pliny (*Ep.* IX. 6, 3) speaks of the circus more contemptuously, using the same verb.

3. meridianum spectaculum: during the morning in the amphitheatre were the combats with wild beasts; after midday, gladiators who had survived the early fights (*meridiani*, Suet. *Claud.* 34), and often condemned criminals also, fought without the usual defences. But there seems to have been sometimes an interval of milder entertainment at midday for those of the crowd who did not go home to luncheon, with pantomimes, pageantry, clowns, etc. We may infer that the better custom was being superseded by the worse. — **misericordia fuit**: by comparison. — **omissis nugis**: *with no more trifling.*

4. plerique: *i.e. turba.* — **ordinariis . . . et postulaticiis**: the ordinary gladiators, paired in equal combat, and favorite gladiators in the service of the emperor, who were sometimes produced at the special request (*postulare*) of the crowd, as "extra numbers" not down on the programme. — **Quo**: *what is the use of?* — **obiciuntur**: *are exposed* to the ferocity of. — **Interfectores**: *i.e.* victors in previous conflicts, especially over the beasts, again paired against new opponents. — **Ferro et igne**: reluctant gladiators were driven on with whips and hot irons. — **vacat harena**: when there is professedly little or nothing going on, *i.e.* in a sort of *entr'acte* or interlude.

5. 'Sed latrocinium fecit' etc.: here Seneca quotes a supposed advocate of the show; this is his justification for the butchery of the men. — **'Quare tam timide,'** etc.: this again is the enthusiastic spectator, who now is criticising the actors. — **Plagis agitur**: *he is driven back by blows* into the fight; cf. *res geritur*, above. — **'interim iugulentur'**: *i.e.* the half-dead gladiators who are being dragged out of the arena; the exhortation is again the spectator's. — **eum docetis esse crudelem**, etc.: *i.e.* Nero; perhaps the last flattery addressed to him by Seneca in the hope of making him deserve it.

6. Subducendus populo: *must be got away from the influence of the crowd.* — **Socrati . . . Laelio**: even though they were men of extraordinarily firm character. Cato, either the Censor or the

Younger (Cato *Uticensis*); Laelius (*Sapiens*), the friend of the younger Scipio, a character in several of Cicero's dialogues.

7. convictor delicatus: *an effeminate comrade.* — **rubiginem**: *i.e.* the rust of envy. — **accidere his moribus**, etc.: *happens to the characters of those exposed to the bad influence of the public.*

9. gloria publicandi ingenii: *the vanity of showing your talent.* — **in medium**: *into publicity.* — **recitare**: authors' readings were in fashion. Horace had spoken of them as a thing to be indulged in very modestly. Pliny the Younger was fond of them. Juvenal and Martial intimate that the public was finding them a bore. — **istis**: cf. *isti populo.* — **si haberes . . . idoneam mercem**: *i.e.* if you had a style suited to the comprehension of the ordinary hearer. — **unus aut alter**: here and there a listener capable of being trained to understand you. The extant poem on Aetna was written to set forth a scientific theory of volcanic activity. — '**Cui . . . didici?**' *why* (you say) *have I studied literary art*, if not to exhibit it? — **si tibi didicisti**: elsewhere, however, Seneca finds a more altruistic reason for study; *e.g. Ep.* 6, 4, *in hoc aliquid gaudeo discere, ut doceam;* cf. *Ep.* 8, 1.

10. Sed ne soli mihi, etc.: Seneca ends many of his letters with quotations gleaned from his reading, "finds" which he wants to share with his friend. In *Ep.* 2, 4–5 he says: "When you have read a considerable quantity, pick out one thing to reflect upon for the day." *Hoc ipse quoque facio; ex pluribus, quae legi, aliquid adprehendo. Hodiernum hoc est, quod apud Epicurum nanctus sum*, e.q.s. Cf. *Ep.* 4, 10; *sed ut finem epistulae imponam, accipe quod mihi hodierno die placuit.* — **in debitum**: having formed the habit of putting one in each letter, Seneca playfully treats it as an obligation; cf. *diurnam tibi mercedulam debeo, Ep.* 6, 7. — **in antecessum**: advance payment for future letters. — **Democritus**: of Abdera (5th–4th century B.C.), the "laughing philosopher." His theories are associated with the doctrine of atoms suggested by Leucippus; none of his works have come down to us except quoted fragments, which have been compiled by Natorp (Marburg, 1893).

11. quo . . . spectaret: *at what . . . aimed.* Cf. *cui . . . didici?* above. — **haec . . . sumus**: Epicurus, Frag. 208, ed. Usener (Leipzig, 1887).

12. ex . . . adsensione: *from the applause.* — **si is es quem**

intellegant multi: *i.e.* if you have descended to the level of their intelligence. — **Introrsus . . . spectent**: *let your merits look within* for approval.

EPISTULA VIII

On the motive of Seneca's retirement from "the crowd," — to teach to posterity the lessons which he himself has learned too late; a better service to the world than trivial accommodations in business or politics. True freedom comes only in the service of philosophy.

1. Ubi (sc. *sunt*) **illa praecepta vestra**: a taunting allusion to the Stoic preaching that one should never retire from active virtue.

2. Secessi: the explanation is evidently of Seneca's own retirement after the death of Burrus. — **posterorum negotium ago**, *I am working for the benefit of posterity.* — **in meis ulceribus**, evidently, moral ills; cf. *ex longo morbo, Ep.* 7, 1. — **serpere**: *to spread* as a contagion.

3. sero cognovi: Seneca doubtless regretted some of the things he had done with Nero. Cf. *Ep.* 7, 1, *numquam mores . . . refero.* By *rectum iter* he probably means one with less of compromise. — **ad . . . fortuitum bonum suspiciosi**: one of Seneca's lost works was *De Remediis Fortuitorum.* — **decipitur**: *is caught.* — **viscata**; *covered with bird-lime.* — **haeremus**: *we stick* on the *viscata beneficia, i.e.* we are ensnared. Cf. *Ep.* 119, 12, *sic divitias habent, quomodo habere dicimur febrem, cum illa nos habeat.*

4. In praecipitia: *i.e. facilis est descensus.* — **eminentis vitae exitus**, etc.: "pride goeth before a fall." — **transversos agere**: *push out of the way, i.e.* start on the wrong track. — **aut saltim rectis aut semel ruere**: sc. *necesse est; i.e.* one must *either* ⟨go⟩ *by right* ⟨means⟩ *or fall once for all* (and be done with it). Cf. *Ep.* 71, 9, *ne hoc quidem miserae rei publicae continget, semel ruere.* — **non vertit**: *i.e.* Fortune does not turn aside, when she has once got a man started wrong, but she throws him forward and dashes him against obstacles. — **cernulat**: a word peculiar to Seneca: from the poetic *cernuus, with face bowed forward.*

5. Durius tractandum: sc. *corpus.* — **cibus . . . sedet**: *i.e.* let food be sought only to allay. — **utrum caespes erexerit**: *whether sod composes the house.* — **varius lapis**: *variegated marble.* —

culmo: *thatch.* — **auro**: referring to the gilding of the coffered ceilings in splendid houses. — **cui magno nihil magnum**: *i.e.* by comparison.

6. ad vadimonium: *to give bail* for a client. — **descenderem**, the Forum, where the law-courts were, being in a hollow between the hills. — **anulum imprimerem**: *affix my seal* as a witness. — **senatu**: where important elections were now held instead of in the popular assembly. — **vocem . . . commodarem**: *i.e.* assist the candidate.

7. ut institui: cf. *Ep.* 7, 10. — **adhuc . . . complicamus**: *I still have just been reading; complicare* is strictly of the closing of the book. — **philosophiae . . . libertas**: Epicurus, *Frag.* 199 (Usener). **circumagitur**: a reference to a formality of liberating a slave, in which the master took his hand and turned him around as a free man. — **Hoc** and **ipsum** modify *servire.*

8. nostrorum: *i.e. Stoicorum.* — **togatas**: the *fabulae togatae* were plays on Roman subjects, not exclusively tragedies like the *praetextae*, nor merely comedies. Seneca here contributes to the definition of them. Cf. the special modern use of the word "drama" to designate a certain kind of play. — **mimos**: *farces.* — **Publilius Syrus** was a writer of mimes in Julius Caesar's time. To him are credited a large number of aphorisms which have come down as a collection of *Sententiae.* — **non excalceatis . . . sunt**: *i.e.* worthy to be spoken not by actors in farces but by tragedians. Tragic actors wore *cothurni;* regular comedians wore *socci;* mimic actors were *excalceati*, wearing neither, and they were without masks.

9. in nostro habenda: *to be counted as really ours.* — **Alienum est omne**, etc.: the vss. are in iambic *senarii.* Vid. Syri *Sent.* Ribbeck, *Comicorum Rom. Frag.* p. 309.

10. adstrictius: *more concisely.* — **Non est tuum**, etc.: of this and the following which Seneca borrows from Lucilius the source is unknown. Cf. Ribb. *Comicorum Rom. Frag.* p. 394. — **non imputo in solutum**: *I do not count toward the reckoning, i.e.* of quotations due.

EPISTULA XVII

On the folly of postponing the pursuit of philosophy until one has acquired riches. Poverty is often more convenient than wealth.

1. omnia ista: evidently explained by the following, *moratur . . . res familiaris.* — **expedi aut incide**: *i.e.* untie the Gordian knot or cut it. — **Moratur**, etc.: cf. Luke xiv. 18, "And they all with one consent began to make excuse," e.q.s. — **ut . . . possit**: so that I can retire from business.

2. eius . . . boni: *i.e.* philosophy. — **summam . . . prosit**: *i.e.* the benefit of it in a general way; contr. *partes autem*, etc. — **Ciceronis . . . verbo, opituletur**: commonly included among the fragments of Cicero's *Hortensius; Frag.* 98, ed. Mueller, Vol. 4 (3), p. 326. — **ad calculos**: *i.e.* calculating whether you can afford it or not; cf. *calculos ponere, Cons. ad Polyb.* ix. 1.

3. quid si adpetenda est? sc. *paupertas.* In the dialogue *de Vita Beata*, xxi. seq., Seneca discusses the question, evidently pertinent to his own situation, *quare opes contemnendas dicit et habet?* His answer is that riches, though not essential, are evidently a convenience. The philosopher may show more virtues in proper conduct with wealth than without it; *non amat divitias sed mavult.* He does not, like other men, feel the need of them if they are gone. Cf. *Ep.* 5, 6: *infirmi animi est pati non posse divitias.* — **Cum classicum**, etc.: *when the signal for battle sounds* (the poor man) *knows that he is not wanted.* — **cum 'aqua' conclamata est**: apparently instead of crying "fire!" they cried *water!* — with which to put the fire out. The poor man has merely to walk out of the house, if it is burning up; he has no property to rescue. Cf. *De Clem.* I. xxv. 5. — **non strepitat portus**, etc.: *i.e.* he can go without making a great commotion.

4. cuius mores sanus dives imitatur: Seneca himself lived very abstemiously. Cf. also *Ep.* 18, 5 seq.

5. nihil prius . . . parandum, etc.: *i.e.* this should be the first thing of all to seek, the knowledge of what should be sought. — **et parare** (*i.e. rationem parandi*) **disce**: the more proper preliminary. — **bene mori**: suicide being the Stoic's justified resource.

6. ad hoc properantibus: *by those who are aiming at this.* — **quod promittitur**: as the reward of philosophy.

7. dictu foedis: sc. *alimentis* or *cibis*. — **animum**: sc. *suum;* contr. *regno . . . alieno*. — **sine viatico**: cf. Matt. x. 9–10, "Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey," etc.

8. an iam nimis habeas: only philosophy can answer this question for you.

9. necessitates ultimae: in which a man *molestus sibi est*. — **si . . . produci**: *i.e.* if his needs are few and elementary. — **ventri et scapulis suum reddet**: *he will render to his belly and his shoulders their own, i.e.* the food and clothing they need. — **ad divitias euntium**: *of those in search of wealth.*

10. in longum . . . differs: *i.e.* adopt such slow methods of becoming rich. — **tabulas beati senis**: *the will of a rich old man.* — **Haec ad alios pertinent**: *i.e.* this discussion of real poverty does not apply to you. — **saeculum muta**: if you go back to the days of smaller fortunes.

11. nisi te male instituissem: *i.e.* by training you to expect a quotation. — **multis . . . mutatio**: Epicurus, *Frag.* 479 (Usener).

12. Illud: *i.e.* the quality of mind.

EPISTULA XVIII

On doing as the Romans do, and a better application of the principle of nonconformity than withdrawal from participation in the Saturnalia; temporary experiments in poverty as an ascetic exercise.

1. December . . . mensis: the Saturnalia began on December 17, and properly included three days, though the festivities lasted a week. The whole month, however, was sacred to Saturn. Macrobius (*Sat.* I. 10) gives a well-known account of the institution. Cf. also Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, pp. 268 seq., on the keeping of the Saturnalia. — **sudat**: apparently in the effort to have a good time. — **apparatu**: preparations for the revels. — **tamquam . . . intersit**: ironically. — **dies rerum agendarum**: *business days.* — **nunc annum**: *i.e.* that the whole year is given up to merry-making.

2. utrum nihil . . . movendum: *whether we ought to make no change* in our usual habits. — **exuendam togam**: it was customary

in the Saturnalia to leave off the toga and go about in less formal and more comfortable attire.

3. arbitri partibus functus: *in playing the part of our adviser.* — **pilleatae turbae**: *the festive crowd,* wearing liberty caps, as was usual. — **blanda**: *alluring occupations.*

4. illud temperatius: evidently the behavior which Seneca prefers. In *Ep.* 5 he condemns ostentatious affectation of the philosophic character. — **nec insigniri nec misceri omnibus**: *neither to be noticeable nor to be absolutely one of the crowd.*

5. placet temptare . . . firmitatem: but if you want to show your firmness of character, do it in a less easy and more useful way than by refusing to join in the holiday festivities. — **hoc est quod timebatur**: *i.e.* this which for a few days I am voluntarily undergoing is all that poverty could entail upon me.

7. Timoneas: of Timon, the Athenian misanthrope, who turned his back upon the world. — **cellas**: *huts.* — **luxuria . . . ludit**: *luxury amuses itself when bored with riches.* — **grabatus . . . sit**: *let the pallet be the real article, and the coarse blanket and the hard black bread.* — **dipondio satur**: when you have satisfied your hunger at the cost of a *dupondius,* — about two cents. — **hoc . . . dat et irata**: *even when* Fortune is *unfriendly, she gives,* etc.

8. illo nomine: *on this account,* explained by the following *non coactus,* etc. — **Exerceamur ad palum**: the Roman soldiers practised fighting against a stake set into the ground, as athletes now practice boxing with a punching-bag.

9. an aliquid deesset: *i.e.* whether he really missed what he thus went without. — **dignum . . . pensaret**: *worth taking a great deal of trouble for.* — **Charino magistratu**: an otherwise unknown official by whose archonship or other magistracy Epicurus's letter seems to have been dated. — **Polyaenus**: a disciple of Epicurus; not to be confused with the better-known Polyaenus of M. Aurelius's time. — **non toto asse se pasci**: *that he had made a meal for less than an as,* while his friend Metrodorus's had cost a whole *as,* between one and two cents. Epicurus *Frag.* 158 (Usener).

10. aqua et polenta, etc.: *i.e.* cheap fare.

11. sepositos . . . pascit: *i.e.* condemned criminals are better fed. — **decretis**: as in the case of the prisoner; contr. *sponte.*

12. Aude, hospes, etc.: Vergil, *Aen.* VIII. 364–365.

13. tamquam exituras . . . adspexeris: *regard them as transitory.*

14. complicare: cf. *Ep.* 8, 7. — **Delegabo te**: *I will refer you.* — **immodica ira**, etc.: Epicurus *Frag.* 484 (Usener). Cf. *De Clem.* II. iv. 2, *varia genera insaniae.*

15. sed quo incidat: *upon what fuel the fire falls.* — **maximum**: sc. *ignem.* — **corripi facilia**: note the use of the infinitive depending upon the adjective. — **scintillam**, etc.: cf. "Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth."

EPISTULA LVI

On an experiment in mental concentration, and on the difference between outer and inner distractions.

1. in studia seposito: *to a man who has gone off* (separated himself) *for study.* — **supra . . . balneum habito**: *i.e.* for a temporary lodging, probably at the watering-place of Baiae near Naples. — **manus plumbo graves iactant**: as now athletes use dumb-bells. — **retentum spiritum remiserunt**: *exhale their breath after holding it.* — **cum . . . incidi**: *when I* (*i.e.* my auditory attention) *have encountered a man* who is not doing any of these actively noisy things. — **inlisae manus**: *of the hand* (of the anointer) *slapping the shoulders* of the inert one. — **pilicrepus**: a kind of juggler who tossed balls up into the air, several at a time, and caught them; he also appears to have shouted the score (*numerare*) while others played. — **actum est**: *it is "all up";* there is no more chance for quiet.

2. scordalus: a vulgar word, meaning something between a "bum" and a "thug." — **deprensum**: an uproar would naturally follow an arrest. — **vox . . . placet**: under the resonant arches. — **tenuem et stridulam vocem**: *shrill and harsh;* at least not *rectam* like the voices of those who have been mentioned before; object of *exprimentem.* — **quo sit notabilior**: *to attract attention.* — **iam libarii**, etc.: sc. *adice* or *cogita.* Then there are *the different cries of the pancake-seller, and* ⟨there are⟩ *the sausage-seller and the confectionery-seller and pedlers from all sorts of cook-shops selling their wares each with his own distinctive tone.* Words formed in *-arius* were especially common in plebeian Latin.

3. cui mens . . . constat: *whose mind is not driven distracted.* — **adsidua salutatio**: a much milder affliction than the miscellaneous noise Seneca has described. We have no knowledge that Chrysippus the philosopher perished in this way; apparently the present individual is a contemporary of Seneca and Lucilius. — **cuidam genti**, etc.: Seneca tells the same thing in his discussion of the Nile in the *Naturales Quaestiones*, IV. ii. 5.

4. fabrum: *a carpenter.* — **serrarrium**: *a sawyer.* — **Meta Sudans**: a fountain in Rome, so called probably because in shape it resembled a *meta* (goal). The core of brick work which remains of it near the Colosseum is apparently of the Flavian period, and its construction is generally credited to Domitian; but since the name occurs here in Seneca, Domitian's work must have been a reconstruction of something of an earlier date. — **tubulas . . . et tibias**: *little trumpets and flutes*, apparently in some sort of begging device common in the vicinity of the Meta Sudans.

5. audire . . . possim: *i.e.* without being disturbed. — **si adfectus fremunt**: *if the passions rage.*

6. Omnia noctis erant, etc.: a verse from P. Terentius Varro Atacinus's poem called *Argonautae* (adapted from the *Argonautica* of Apollonius) of which only fragments have come down to us. Seneca the Elder (*Controv.* VII. 1, 27) quotes this verse with the one before it, *Desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant*, calling them *illos optimos versus Varronis.* Cf. Apoll. Rhod. III. 749 seq. Vid. A. Riese, *M. Ter. Varronis Sat. Menipp. Reliq.* p. 262.

7. suspensum . . . vestigium ponitur: *i.e.* they walk on tiptoe as they approach the bedroom.

9. detinent: *occupy them.* — **et . . . stationis paenitentia secessisse**: *and in dissatisfaction with our unlucky and disagreeable post, to have gone into retirement.*

11. si receptui cecinimus: *if we have* (really) *sounded the retreat.*

12. nec sese adhuc reduxit introrsus: *and has not yet fallen back upon its inner resources.* — **erigitur**: *has its attention called aside.* — **quod . . . curiosum facit**: *which makes him care* (what the unexpected may be). — **Et me, quem dudum**, etc.: *Aeneid*, II. 726–729, from the account of Aeneas's flight, with his father on his shoulders and his child beside him.

13. Prior ille: *i.e.* Aeneas in his first character. — **quaelibet vox pro fremitu accepta**: *the least sound, taken as an evidence of tumult.*

14. ex istis felicibus: *those whom you consider fortunate.* — **te . . . esse compositum**: cf. *Ep.* 7, 1, *quod composui.*

15. Quid ergo? the interlocutor returns to the original question of Seneca's lodging. — **commodius**: as Seneca had said of other material advantages, they are not necessary to the wise man, but are convenient; cf. *Ep.* 17, 3, note. — **Ulixes . . . adversus Sirenas**: Odysseus stopped the ears of his comrades with wax; *Odyssey*, XII. 177.

EPISTULA LXI

On readiness for the end of life, and on the way to preserve our moral freedom in presence of the inevitable.

1. In hoc . . . eunt: are directed to this end, *i.e. imponere . . . finem.* — **malis**: faults. — **nec . . . tamquam ultimum rapio**: apparently a reaction from the maxim credited to Publilius Syrus, that a man should use each day as if it were to be his last.

2. non . . . pendeo: *I am not in suspense.* — **in senectute**: sc. *curo.*

3. Quicquid necesse futurum est repugnanti, etc.: *what would be necessary if one resisted, ceases to be a matter of constraint when we acquiesce.* — **facere quod nolit**: in apposition with *partem.* — **nostri**: instead of *nostram.*

4. in . . . avidi: *greedy after.*

EPISTULA LXXIII

On the erroneous notion that philosophers are bad citizens. True philosophers, far from being disloyal to the government, are more grateful to it than any one else is, since it secures them peace and freedom for their philosophical pursuits; and leisure is worth more to them than to others, because their use of it leads them to the highest ends.

1. qui existimant, etc.: cf. *De Clem.* II. v. 2, *scio male audire apud imperitos sectam Stoicorum;* but this was on the ground of their severity. Tigellinus (Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 57) accused the sect

to Nero of making men arrogant and troublesome. Epictetus at a later day, who was himself one of the philosophers expelled from Rome by Domitian, defends them from the same charge of disloyalty.

The fact was that the Stoic assumption of cosmopolitan superiority to mere local citizenship (cf. *De Otio*, iv.) and of indifference to the concrete details of politics, and also their insistence upon liberty of character, which was often misunderstood as republican sentiment, undoubtedly led them to use expressions which gave color to the charge against them. — **adversus illos**: *i.e. magistratus*, etc. — **praestant**: *do they* (*i.e.* rulers) *provide.*

2. ii: subject of *colant.* — **ad propositum**: *for their aim.* — **in medio positi**: *in active business.* — **imputant**: charge, *i.e. demand.*

3. quot vincat: *i.e.* how many he has below him in the social scale. — **incipit . . . a fine**: one is no sooner ended than another begins.

4. At ille: the philosopher. — **nescientibus**: *i.e.* the student's gratitude is greater than the rulers realize. — **illis inviis**: *from those pathless regions* of folly from which his teachers led him.

5. Verum alios, etc.: sc. *inquis.* — **quam a vectore**: *than by a mere passenger* who has no merchandise at hazard. — **saburrae loco**: *for mere ballast.*

6. operosior: *more harmful.* — **idem . . . debere**: *owe the same, i.e.* the same that a man does who profits better by the opportunity. — **quamvis . . . descripta sint**: *although* (these things) *were by no means arranged for my sake.*

7. stulta avaritia: cf. *De Benef.* VII. iii. 2, *unus est sapiens, cuius omnia sunt;* the wise man is always *dives.* Cf. *Ep.* 17, 10. — **socium efficit . . . est**: *the fact that a thing is in the smallest share* (degree) *common property, makes him a partaker in it.*

8. magna et vera: *e.g. pax et libertas*, below. — **congiario**: public largess of money or food; from the measure of a *congius;* vid. Lex. — **Epulum et visceratio**: public feasts given to the poor by the emperor or some other great person.

9. Cogitat . . . per quem: (the philosopher) *considers who it is*, i.e. *gubernator.* — **bene debere beneficia**: *to recognize one's obligations.*

10. illi: instead of *sibi;* the philosopher. — **O Meliboee**, etc.:

Verg. *Ecl.* I. 6–7, where the shepherd Tityrus speaks, referring to Augustus. Seneca also quotes the lines in *De Benef.* IV. vi. 4.

11. illa . . . otia . . . quorum: *i.e.* peaceful opportunities spent in ordinary business or amusement. — **ille meas**, etc.: *Ecl.* I. 9–10. — **deos facit**: *i.e.* through the pursuit of philosophy.

12. compendiaric: sc. *itinere;* cf. *Apoc.* xiii. 1, *compendiaria ⟨via⟩*. — **Sextius**: a teacher of the Pythagorean philosophy, with Stoic tendencies, at Rome. There were two of the name, father and son; this was probably the elder.

13. Iuppiter quo antecedit, etc.: cf. Horace, *Ep.* I. i. 106–108, where he gently satirizes the pretensions of the Stoic *sapiens.*

14. hoc se . . . suspicit: *for this reason he respects himself.*

15. hac: sc. *via.* — **itur ad astra**: Verg. *Aen.* IX. 641; quoted also by Seneca in *Ep.* 48, 11. — **non sunt di fastidiosi . . . admittunt**, etc.: cf. *Apoc.* viii–xi. — **hominem ad deos ire**: cf. *quid di ad homines*, Apoc. xiii. 2.

16. Semina . . . dispersa: cf. the parable of The Sower, Luke viii. 5–8.

EPISTULA LXXX

On the importance of training the mind no less than the body, and of freeing the soul from subjection to the fear of death or of poverty; the fictitious nature of worldly prosperity.

1. molestos: *bores.* — **ad sphaeromachian avocavit**: *has attracted to the ball-game.* There were several kinds of ball playing common among the Romans, at least two of them played by a number of men on a side and properly described by the Greek term *σφαιρομαχία.* These were the game called *ἐπίσκυρος* or *ἐπίκοινος*, and that called *harpastum*, which was played with a smaller ball than the other. The details of the games are somewhat in dispute or wholly obscure. Consult the dictionaries of antiquities, s.v. *pila;* cf. also Becq de Fouquières, *Les jeux des anciens*, Paris, 1869, etc. — **Non crepabit . . . ostium**: in *De Ira*, III. 35, 3, in a different vein, Seneca speaks contemptuously of the luxurious man's nervous irritation at a sudden *ianuae impulsum.* — **velum**: the portière of the room in which he sits. — **vadere**: *to advance, i.e.* in the regions of original thought. —

priores: Seneca's predecessors in the Stoic school. — **permitto mihi**, etc.: vid. Introd. p. xix.

2. Magnum . . . verbum: *i.e.* an over-statement. — **secretum**: *retirement.* — **clamor ex stadio**: the sound of the cheering in the distance, at the ball-game. Note the Greek word, *stadium.* — **Cogito mecum**, etc.: cf. the problem of college athletics. In *Ep.* 15, 2, Seneca insists even more emphatically upon what he considered the folly of excessive physical training. The same idea appears in *De Brev. Vit.* xiii. 1. His position was, of course, a Stoic commonplace. — **quam multi . . . quam pauci**: note the chiastic arrangement of the sentence.

3. calces: recognized, as well as *pugni*, as "nature's weapons" in pugilistic encounters. — **non unius**: *i.e.* often of several opponents in succession. — **exsurgat**: *i.e.* rise undiscouraged after each assault of Fortune. — **Illis**: the athletes.

4. Velle: this is, however, a positive spiritual effort; the Stoics by no means acquiesced in the Socratic dictum that "virtue is knowledge." Cf. *Ep.* 90, 44: *non . . . dat natura virtutem; ars est bonum fieri.* — **huic servituti . . . quam**: *i.e.* from this moral servitude, as bad as the slavery which, etc. — **ventre fraudato**: *i.e.* saving money from their food in order to gather a private hoard (*peculium*) with which to purchase freedom. — **quanticumque**: gen. of value; *at any cost whatever.* — **in illa . . . natum**: contr. *mancipia.*

5. in tabulas . . . coicitur: *i.e.* is recorded in the censors' lists (of freedmen). — **tibi des**: *i.e.* by willing it; subject of *oportet.*

6. fidelius: *more sincerely.* — **in alto**: *at bottom, i.e.* in the depths of his mind. — **suppurata**: *festering.* — **cor . . . exedentes**, *which are eating one's heart out.* — **agere felicem**: *to act the part of a happy man.*

7. hic humanae vitae mimus: cf. Shakespeare's "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players" (*As You Like It*, ii. 7). The passage recalls Augustus's well-known dying inquiry of his friends, "whether he seemed to them *mimum vitae commode transegisse*" (Suet. *Aug.* 99). In *Ep.* 76, 31, also, Seneca alludes to the short duration of the airs of royal splendor assumed by an actor. — **latus incedit**: as Horace (*Sat.* II. 3, 183) says.

Latus ut in circo spatiere, strut about like a "swell." — **resupinus**: *with head thrown back, i.e.* and chest thrown forward. — **En impero**, etc.: the verses have been assigned to Attius's lost tragedy of *Atreus;* Ribbeck, however (*Trag. Rom. Fragmenta*, p. 249), catalogues them among the *fragmenta ex incertis incertorum fabulis* (Frag. LV.). The first line is also quoted by Quintilian (IX. 4, 140). — **Pelops**: the father of Atreus, who did not, however, according to the legend, inherit the realm of Argos from his father, but obtained it otherwise. — **ponto ab Helles**: tmesis; *ab Hellesponto*, a decided exaggeration. — **quinque modios**, etc.: *i.e.* by the month, the ordinary allowance for a slave's maintenance; used here in much the same way that the remark, "he has taken the King's shilling," has been used in England to designate a soldier. The actor who impersonates royalty is really a humble slave.

8. **impotens**: *insolent.* — **Quod nisi quieris**, etc.: *If you do not stop it, Menelaus;* the line is possibly from the same source as the others; cf. Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag. incert.* XV (p. 238). — **diurnum**: *his daily allowance.* — **in centunculo**: *in a patchwork quilt.* — **lectica**: as a luxury of the rich. — **personata felicitas**: like the actor's royal pride; cf. *bracteata felicitas, Ep.* 115, 9.

9. **stratum**: the *saddle* or *horse-cloth.* — **Mangones**: in this case *horse traders.* — **lenocinio**: *ornament.* — **Scythiae Sarmatiaeve**: Seneca purposely takes barbaric splendor for illustration. — **insigni**: substantive, *with a diadem.* — **fasciam**, also indicating the crown. — **qualis sis aliis credis**: *i.e.* you accept the popular estimate of what you are.

EPISTULA CVI

Seneca's aim to develop a systematic moral philosophy. The Stoic solution of the problem of mind and matter; the corporeality of whatever produces consequences in the body (*i.e.* "Stoic materialism"); the essential triviality, however, of metaphysical speculation.

1. **cave audias**: *do not listen to.* — **Neminem res sequuntur**: *business does not pursue a man.* — **argumentum . . . felicitatis**: *an evidence of prosperity.* — **veniebat in contextum operis mei**: *i.e.* belonged at a future stage in the systematic development of my subject. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* II. 8; *in contextu operis dicemus.*

2. moralem philosophiam: this, to which Seneca alludes also in *Ep.* 109, 17, is evidently one of his lost works. — **ius . . . dicerem**: as of a judge announcing a judicial decision. — **tam longe venientem**: *since you come from so far, i.e.* from Sicily.

3. si qua: sc. *alia*, later. — **magis iuvat quam prodest**: *it is more interesting than useful.* — **bonum an corpus sit**: *whether "the good"* (*i.e.* goodness) *is a corporeal entity.* The question of course belongs to that department of Stoic teaching which was called "physics," *i.e.* in modern terminology, metaphysics. Seneca's answer is the orthodox one of the Stoics, who were as far as possible in this respect from Platonic idealism. Similar inquiries were familiar. Cf. *e.g.* in Aulus Gellius, V. 15, a discussion of the question *corpusne sit vox an incorporeum.* Vid. Zeller (*The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*), chapter vi., in connection with this epistle.

4. Bonum facit: *i.e.* the good is operative, has an effect upon things. The philosophical problem of how mind can act upon matter, the Stoics solved by denying the essential dualism of the two. — **quae animi sunt**: sc. *bona, corpora sunt.*

5. an adfectus corpora sint: in another Epistle (113), however, Seneca discusses the further question, *an . . . virtutes animalia sunt*, and disposes of it by a *reductio ad absurdum.* Cf. note to *rotundus, Apoc.* viii. 1. — **tamquam**: *for example.* — **nisi dubitas** the reality of their physical effects, which are enumerated in the following clauses. — **frontem adstringant**, in a scowl of anger. — **faciem diffundant**: *relax the countenance* in a pleasant smile.

7. eadem . . . indicia: *i.e.* they have physical consequences. — **ex illis est**: *results from them.*

8. Tangere, etc.: *De Rerum Natura*, I. 304. Here again Seneca is borrowing from an Epicurean.

9. Etiam nunc: by way of introducing another argument. — **cui**: the subject is the antecedent of *corpus est.*

11. morem gessi: I have complied with your request in stating for you our doctrine. — **latrunculis**: *with pawns*, as in the game of chess (or with checkers), *i.e.* we are engaged in a mere game with trifles. — **in . . . teritur**: *our acumen is spent on useless questions.* — **ista**: *supervacua.*

12. ad mentem bonam uti litteris: *i.e.* to pursue literary studies

in a way that will benefit our character. — **ut cetera . . . ita philosophiam**: *i.e.* as we waste our other resources on idle luxury (contr. living according to nature), so even our philosophy we pervert to useless problems. — **non vitae sed scholae**: datives of purpose; a profound bit of educational philosophy.

EPISTULA CXV

On the need of genuineness in literature and life, and of an independent estimate of the real values of things; the delusive nature of the ordinary objects of human pursuit. The beauty of holiness and the curse of mammon-worship.

1. circa . . . compositionem: on Seneca's principles of literary style, cf. Introd. p. xxvii. seq. — **velut signes**: *may, as it were, stamp them* with the seal of experience.

2. pusillis: *with trifles.* — **Magnus ille**: the man whose soul is above petty things. — **comptulos iuvenes**: dandies, *carefully groomed;* the diminutive is contemptuous. — **de capsula**: as if just *from the bandbox.* — **cultus animi**: *the dress of thought.* — **aliquid fracti**: *some flaw in it;* another Ms. reading is *ficti*, something artificial.

3. animum . . . inspicere: *to look into the soul;* cf. § 17. — **iustitia . . . prudentia**: the four cardinal virtues. — **in homine . . . humanitas**: paradoxically a *rarum bonum;* the play on the words is analogous to the familiar observation that common sense is most uncommon. — **illi, illi, illam**, referring to *faciem.* — **quantum ponderis gravitatisque**: objects of *adderent*, the subjects of which are *providentia* and *magnanimitas.*

4. numinis occursu obstupefactus: in accordance with the familiar idea that the sight of a god is perilous for a human being, the sight of this perfect holiness in a man inspires the same awe. — **'fas sit vidisse'**: apparently quoted from one of two incomplete anonymous poems of the time of Nero, now known, from the Ms. in which they are preserved, as the Einsiedeln poems. The line (I. 26) is *Fas mihi sit vidisse deos, fas prodere mundo* (Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Minores*, iii. p. 61). — **benignitate productus**: *i.e.* drawn on by the look of kindness. — **adoret, supplicet, emittat**: like *resistat* and *precetur*, with *nonne*, conclusions to the

conditional *Si . . . viderit.* — **exstantem, elatam**: the transition in the application of the epithets is apparently gradual in the mind of the writer, from *faciem* (*boni viri*) to the thought of the goddess of the Vergilian quotation. — **mite quiddam**: adverbial accusative, after *flagrantibus*.

5. O quam, etc.: *Aeneid*, I. 327–328, 330, where Aeneas meets his mother, Venus, in disguise near Carthage. — **Aderit**, etc.: the subject seems to be suggested by *facies*, as an impersonal spirit of goodness. — **non taurorum . . . corporibus**, etc.: cf. 1 Samuel xv. 22, "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord." Cf. also Isaiah i. 10–20, of similar purport. Seneca discusses the question of ceremonial sacrifices with some detail, and in the same spirit, in *Ep.* 95, 47 seq. — **suspenso**: *hung up*, as votive offerings. — **in thensauros stipe infusa**: *by gifts poured into the treasury* (of a temple).

6. contingeret: nearly equiv. to *liceret.* — **aciem . . . repercutiunt**: *dazzle our sight.* — **aciem animi**: *our spiritual vision.* — **obrutam corpore**: *hidden by physical limitations.* — **paupertate opposita**: *when poverty is in the way.*

7. aerumnosi animi veternum: *i.e.* the rust of envy, the bitterness of old sorrows, etc. This use of the substantive *veternum* is rare. — **intuentem . . . verberet**: *i.e.* the glare tends to blind the onlooker; but "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

8. Ariston: a Stoic philosopher of Chios, who lived in the third century B.C. Seneca's *Ep.* 94 is devoted largely to an argument against some of his theories. — **tabulas et statuas**: *paintings and sculpture*, which cost so much more than children's baubles. — **maculae columnarum**: in varicolored marbles; equiv. to *columnae maculosae.* — **capacem populi**: *large enough to take in a whole population.* — **ferunt**: *i.e.* the columns support the ⟨roof of the⟩ hall.

9. parietes . . . inductos: marble walls in Rome were commonly of concrete merely veneered with marble. — **imponimus**: in the "modern" sense in which the word is used in *Apoc.* vi. 1. — **Nec tantum parietibus**: *i.e.* the charge of superficial ornamentation extends to other features of our lives also. — **incedere altos**: cf. *latus incedit*, *Ep.* 80, 7.

10. quae . . . magistratus . . . detinet: *i.e.* distracts them

from justice. — **et magistratus . . . facit**: according to the requirements of the *census*, that a man must have a prescribed amount of property to be eligible to senatorial offices. — **ex quo**: sc. *tempore;* equiv. to *postquam.* — **honor**: *i.e. aestimatio.* — **mercatores et venales in vicem**: *purchasers and purchasable by turns.*

11. nobis . . . fecerunt: *have implanted in us.* — **convenit**: *are agreed;* personal, a rare use of the word. — **hoc dis . . . consecrant**: Persius in his second satire (vss. 55 seq.) amplifies this same thought.

12. adfectibus . . . facem subdant: *i.e.* both kindle and intensify the heat of our impulses.

13. Regia Solis, etc.: quoted, as a specimen, from Ovid's account of how Phaëthon went to the palace of the sun-god, his father, and essayed to drive his chariot (*Metam.* II. 1–2). — **Aureus axis**, etc.: *ibid.* II. 107–108.

14. Sine me, etc.: These first seven lines, which are translated, very likely by Seneca himself, into Latin *senarii*, are from unknown sources. The original Greek form has been preserved only in the case of the first line, as follows, ἔα με κερδαίνοντα κεκλῆσθαι κακόν, which occurs as part of a longer fragment. Vid. A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Frag. *adespota*, 181 (2d ed.); also *ibid.* Frag. 461. — **An dives**, etc.: sc. *sit aliquis.* — **Non quare et unde**: cf. Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 207, *Unde habeas quaerit nemo.* — **tanti . . . fuit**: *was "worth" as much.* — **Pecunia, ingens**, etc.: the following five verses are a translated fragment from Euripides's lost tragedy of *Danaë*, in whose story a shower of gold figures conspicuously. They are given in the Greek form by Stobaeus (*Flor.* 91, 4) and others. Cf. Nauck, *Euripidis Perditarum Tragoediarum Fragmenta*, 2d ed., Frag. 326.

15. hi novissimi versus: *these last* five. — **exspectarent**: *i.e.* await the dénouement. — **Dabat . . . Bellerophontes**, etc.: *Bellerophontes in that story was paying the penalty which every man pays in his own* ⟨life history⟩. Apparently Seneca has fallen into the error of thinking his quotation was from the play called *Bellerophontes*, by the same author, from which perhaps some of the other quotations (not *hi novissimi*) may have been taken. Bellerophontes ultimately comes in the story to poverty and wretchedness.

16. e partis: *because of what it has produced.* — **Adice**: *think, too, of.* — **ut . . . detrahat**: concessive.

17. deliberarent: *would take counsel.* — **cum ambitiosis**, etc.: sc. *deliberarent.* — **vota mutassent**: *i.e.* the aspiring ones would have changed their ideals, did they but see how disappointing these have proved to those who have attained them (*illi*). — **Nemo . . . faciat**: cf. Horace's first satire. — **processibus**: *their successes;* cf. *Consol. ad Polyb.* ix. 4, for a similar use of the word.

18. solidam felicitatem: contrasted with *bracteata felicitas*, § 9. — **apte verba contexta**, etc., reverting to the idea with which the epistle began. — **eant ut volent**: *let the words go as they please*, provided that they are sincere, etc. — **magnus**: sc. *animus* or a demonstrative. — **opinionum securus**: *i.e.* disregarding other men's criticisms. — **profectum suum vita aestimet**: *judges its progress by* the test of *life.* — **tantum scire . . . quantum non**, etc.: a compact summary of Stoic ethics.

LIST OF TEXTUAL MODIFICATIONS

Changes (other than of mere orthography and punctuation) from the texts of the editors indicated. Most of these readings have been used in other texts. The few for which the present editor is responsible are, it is hoped, in the interests of simplicity.

Ad Polybium de Consolatione

Hermes, Teubner ed., 1905.

ii. 2 (p. 2)	**videbaris eum**	videbaris *sinu* eum
iii. 4 (p. 4)	**delibare. Nihil**	delibare [voluisti]. nihil
iv. 2 (p. 4)	**solitudo torquet**	solitudo [alium labor] torquet
v. 2 (p. 5)	**dolore**	dolori
xii. 5 (p. 15)	**ante illum**	ante illud
xiv. 2 (p. 16)	**fastos**	fastus
xvii. 4 (p. 20)	**pervolgatis**	†pervocatis et
xvii. 5 (p. 21)	**modo Italiae**	modo *tondens* Italiae

Apocolocyntosis

Bücheler, 4th editio minor, 1904.

ii. 1 (p. 25)	**ortum**	orbem
ii. 1 (p. 25)	**visoque**	iussoque
ii. 3(p. 25)	**sunt**	cum
ii. 3 (p. 25)	**ut**	[ut]
iii. 3 (p. 26)	**constituerat . . . videre**	enclosed in dashes
v. 1 (p. 27)	**ne excidant quae memoriae**	ne excidant memoriae quae
vi. 1 (p. 29)	**Lugudunensis**	[Lugudunenses]
vii. 4 (p. 30)	**tibi**	Tiburi
vii. 5 (p. 30)	**contulerim**	tulerim
viii. 2 (p. 30)	**"Quare," inquis**	"quare" inquit
ix. 1 (p. 31)	**sententiam dicere non licere nec**	*senatoribus non licere* sententiam dicere nec
ix. 3 (p. 31)	**fecisti**	fecistis
ix. 6 (p. 32)	**sententiam**	[sententiam]
xi. 2 (p. 33)	**tris homines assarios**	Tristionias, Assarionem

xi. 6 (p. 33)	**[a caelo] 'unde**	a caelo *'illuc* unde
xii. 3 (p. 35)	**saepe nec utra** Suggested by Prof. J. P. Postgate, *Class Rev.*, July, 1905.	saepe ne utra
xiii. 1 (p. 35)	**deorum et**	deorum [nuntius] et
xiv. 3 (p. 37)	**Sisyphum diu**	Sisyphum *satis* diu
xiv. 4 (p. 37)	**spem sine fine et effectu**	speciem sine effectu
xv. 1 (p. 37)	**lusuro**	fusuro

De Clementia

Hosius, Teubner ed., 1900.

I. ii. 2 (p. 41)	**Sed non**	si* non
iii. 1 (p. 41)	**mansuetudinis vel poenae remissionis** Cf. the use of these words separately in De Clem. I. vii. 3; I. xi. 1; II. ii. 1; II. v. 1; II. vii. 1 and 3.	manumissionis
vi. 1 (p. 45)	**relinquatur**	relinquitur
xix. 3 (p. 59)	**ingessit**	ingens
xix. 3 (p. 59)	**arguere**	parere
xix. 8 (p. 59)	**Nonne**	O ne
xix. 8 (p. 59)	**contingit, sibi**	contingit *ut* sibi
xxiv. 1 (p. 62)	**in senatu**	a senatu
II. ii. 1 (p. 67)	**valetudo in omnes partes corporis exit**	valetudo: inde
vi. 2 (p. 70)	**solent**	volo

Epistulae

Hense, Teubner ed., 1898.

Ep. 17, 3 (p. 78)	**[ut]**	†ut
Ep. 17, 9 (p. 80)	**inciderint**	inciderunt
Ep. 56, 2 (p. 84)	**libarii**	†biberari
Ep. 61, 3 (p. 88)	**repugnanti, volenti**	repugnanti, [in] volenti
Ep. 106, 4 (p. 95)	**quae propria**	quae [ergo] propria
Ep. 115, 14 (p. 99)	**pessimum, ut**	pessimum, [simul] ut

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